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THE

CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA.

CONDUCTED BY THE

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EMINENT LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MEN.

Biography.

EMINENT BRITISH

MILITARY COMMANDERS.

VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.



According to the plan of the Cabinet Cyclopædia, the lives of remarkable persons will be grouped in classes, according to the circumstances by which they were distinguished. Thus one set of volumes will be devoted to Statesmen, another to Divines, another to Military Commanders, another to Naval Commanders, and so forth. When a subject has claims to two different classes, it will be assigned to that to which it may appear more peculiarly to belong; so that a repetition of the same life in different divisions of the Cyclopædia may be avoided.

In the series of lives, of which the present volume forms the commencement, will be found that of Oliver Cromwell. It is obvious, from the above observations, that the proper place for this life is the series of British Statesmen, and there accordingly a life of Cromwell will be found. After the present work was commenced, the author of the lives communicated to the Editor his intention of introducing a memoir of Cromwell, considered as an eminent military commander, and stated that such a memoir was indispensably necessary in the series. Under

these circumstances, the Editor has consented to depart from the plan of the Cyclopædia in this instance, in deference to the express wishes of the author; having, however, requested that the memoir should be principally confined to Cromwell's military character. But the Editor thinks it necessary to state, that in future any similar violation of the plan of the work will be avoided.

PREFACE.

The volumes now offered to the public contain a series of biographical sketches, of which the great object has been, not more to make the English reader acquainted with the personal adventures of certain of our most distinguished military commanders, than to convey to his mind some general notion of the military history of his own country. In furtherance of this design, an attempt has been made to give, in the Introduction, a condensed view of the rise and progress of the British army, from its rude beginnings, in ages prior to the Norman conquest, down to its systematic organisation in modern times. It is not pretended, that in an outline so meagre, various omissions may not be detected. The narrow limits within which the author was compelled to confine himself, rendered it impossible to touch upon every point which seemed to demand notice; yet is he willing to hope, even here, that though there may be an occasional absence of details, which in a work of larger compass might have been given with advantage, no material errors or mistatements have crept in, to disfigure such as he has found it practicable to abridge.

With respect to the biographies themselves, it will be seen that they are selected, especially in the first volume, for the purpose of exhibiting the changes which from age to age occur-

red in the tactics of our most renowned warriors The life of sir Walter de Manny, for example, exhibits a specimen of the military commander at an era when war was rather a trial of bodily prowess than a science. That of sir Francis de Vere serves to illustrate the gradual introduction of a new system, originating in the invention of fire-arms, and necessarily resulting from it. Cromwell, of course, holds his place in this collection, as the founder of standing armies in England; and Marlborough, as the man who first established the claim of the British soldier to take rank with the best and most skilful in Europe.

It has been a source of considerable embarrassment as well as regret to the author, that he has felt himself restricted, by the plan of his work, to a detail of the *military* careers of the several great men who form the subjects of his pages. The extraordinary talents of our Cromwells and our Marlboroughs cannot possibly be illustrated, if we confine our attention entirely to their proceedings in the field: indeed, it may be questioned whether there ever lived a really great military commander, who was not at the same time a profound statesman and an able diplomatist. Nevertheless, as he was led to understand, that it was not of the men themselves, so much as of their military services that he was expected to give an account, he has on numerous occasions put restraint upon his own wishes, and passed by events which he would have willingly described at large, and of which the description might have proved neither uninteresting nor uninstructive.

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LIVES

OF

EMINENT BRITISH

MILITARY COMMANDERS.

INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MILITARY SYSTEMS RECOGNISED IN ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Of the peculiar customs of the ancient Britons, as well in war as in peace, but few and imperfect notices have been transmitted to posterity. We learn, indeed, from the classical writers, that, previous to its invasion by Cæsar, this island was portioned out among forty independent nations, each of which was again subdivided into numerous petty and almost equally independent tribes. To one and all of these the same general description applies. They were brave, hardy, and ferocious; they considered war in the light both of a business and a pastime; they fought some on foot, others on horseback, others in chariots; they followed to the field their hereditary chiefs or kings; and when not struggling to oppose the Roman legions, they were engaged in constant hostilities one with another. Wherever this state of society prevails, and men come into the world only that they may kill or be killed, it were vain to seek for any traces of a military system, properly so called. The history of such as live under it can present few features at variance with those

which belong to savage life in general, where every male is a warrior after his own rude fashion, and personal courage and bodily strength are esteemed the first of virtues. We shall not, therefore, waste our own or our readers' time in the vain endeavour to erect a theory where materials for it are absolutely wanting, but shall pass on at once to another and a more accurately marked stage in the military annals of our country.

A very different but not less satisfactory reason may be assigned why we should refrain from instituting any enquiry into the nature of the military system which prevailed in Britain during the period of the Roman supremacy. Here, as elsewhere, the conquerors took upon themselves the undivided care of defending their conquests from foreign enemies, while internal peace was preserved by Roman garrisons stationed at convenient spots from Reculver to the wall of Antoninus. No Britons were permitted, on any pretext whatever, to carry arms in their own land; for though not less than twenty-six cohorts were raised from among them, these were all employed in service beyond the seas; while their place was supplied as well by Roman legions as by auxiliaries, drawn perhaps from the very countries whither they were transported. Hence it was not a British but a Roman military system under which our remote ancestors lived; and the Roman system, however admirable in itself, has been too often described already to render any exposition of it necessary in a work like the present.

One unavoidable consequence of these arrangements was, to destroy entirely the martial spirit which once animated the inhabitants of Britain. They became civilised, it is true, and comparatively wealthy, but their valour and hardihood were gone; and hence, when the Romans found it necessary to evacuate their island, it soon became a prey to the ravages of the Scots and Picts. In this emergency the aid of the Saxons was called in; a bold and adventurous race, by whom the Caledonians were checked in their aggressions, and finally driven back within the chain of the Grampian hills. But the un-

happy Britons were soon taught that a people who cannot fight for themselves must become, ere long, the slaves of their hired defenders. The Saxons were not slow in turning their arms against the people whom they had engaged to protect, and the Britons, incapable of any effective resistance, once more submitted to a foreign yoke. Amid the mountains of Wales, indeed, and along the bend of the western coast, from the extremities of Cornwall to Cumberland, some tribes continued during many centuries to maintain a rude independence; but the whole of the level country, including the most fertile counties both of England and the lowlands of Scotland, became in the end the property of the conquerors.

From the completion of these conquests, or, to speak more correctly, from the consolidation of the heptarchy under one lord, we may date the commencement of an orderly system of military organisation in this country. By the Saxon laws, every freeman, not incapacitated by non-age or bodily infirmities, was bound in case of invasion to take up arms, in the use of which he was regularly trained by officers appointed for the purpose. Thus, the head or chief of each family was the leader of those in his family qualified to serve. Ten families formed a tything, the warriors of which were commanded by the borsholder; ten tythings constituted a hundred, of which the soldiers were led on by the hundredary; while several hundreds made up a trything, under the orders of the trything man. Last of all, the force of the shire or county was commanded by the hertoch, dux, or duke, who again acted under the orders of the king, or the kyning's hold; but as the latter, though an officer of corresponding rank with a lord lieutenant, held his commission only during war, the militia may be said to have remained generally under the command of the dukes of counties.

For the equipment of these levies, every landholder was required to have at all times ready a store of armour and weapons, more or less ample in proportion to his rank and the extent of his possessions. These he was

not permitted on any account to sell, lend, pledge, or even alienate from his heirs. Stated seasons likewise were appointed for training and exercise, from which no man was allowed to absent himself; and once a year, usually in the spring, there was a general muster of the force of the county. Of the soldiers thus brought together, by far the larger proportion consisted of infantry; the thanes or great nobles alone serving on horseback. These latter rode without stirrups: their offensive weapon was a spear; and, till within a short time prior to the Norman invasion, their defensive arms consisted simply of an iron helmet or head-piece. The former were of two sorts, called heavy and light. The heavy infantry are delineated in ancient illuminations as wearing helmets made of the skins of beasts, with the hair outwards: they carried likewise large oval convex shields, with spikes projecting from the bosses; and their offensive weapons were long and very broad swords and spears. The lighter infantry appear to have been armed in more than one way: some bore spears, some swords, others clubs, battle-axes, or bills, besides javelins, which they darted with great dexterity ere coming to close combat. The dress both of horse and foot was the same, namely, a tunic with sleeves, the skirts of which reached down to the knees; in addition to which the horsemen wore spurs, armed with only one point or goad. Their method of fighting, again, was exceedingly simple and rude: they drew up their whole army in one dense mass, in the centre of which stood the standard; and while the cavalry assembled round it for its immediate defence, the infantry, with their heavy battle-axes and long lances, occupied the foremost ranks.

Such was the military system which held good in England under the Anglo-Saxon princes. Of the implements then in use for the attack and defence of forts we have no account, neither are we acquainted with the exact extent of liability imposed upon the militia-man as to foreign service; but it would appear from certain expressions used in the laws of Edward the Confessor, that

he might be called upon to take a part both in aggressive and defensive wars. Thus it is enacted, that "any man who from cowardice shall abandon his lord or fellow-soldiers while under the command of the hertoch, *in any expedition by land or sea,* shall forfeit both his life and property, his lord being authorised to resume any lands which he may have formerly granted to him." On the other hand, the same authority declares, that "of him who is slain in war fighting before his lord either *at home* or *abroad,* all payments due for reliefs on his estates are remitted to his heirs, who shall enjoy his lands and money without any diminution, and may divide it among them." *

The introduction of the feudal system by the sovereigns of the Norman line produced many and great changes in the military establishments of this country. It was then that all the lands of the realm, being portioned out into knights' fees, were granted in greater or less quantities to tenants *in capite,* whose terms of tenure bound them to serve the king in his wars either at home or abroad, with horses and arms, provided and subsisted at his own expense, during a period of forty days in each year. As the lands were of necessity very unequally distributed, these customs neither imposed nor were meant to impose the same burdens indiscriminately upon all landowners. The great baron, for example, to whom had been allotted, perhaps, one hundred knights' fees, was bound to furnish one hundred men at arms, all of whom followed the royal standard throughout forty entire days from the date of their enrolment; whereas the poor gentleman, who owned, perhaps, half a knight's fee, could be compelled to do service only in person, and that for the space of twenty days, or one half the knight's period. From such services, as they were termed, the lands belonging to the church were by no means exempt. It does not, indeed, appear that the clergy were usually summoned to give to the king their personal attendance, though instances of the kind do

* Grose's Military Antiquities of England.

occur in more than one age; but their estates were, equally with those of the laity, held on a military tenure, and equally supported horsemen numerous in proportion to their value. By what standard these knights' fees were valued in the reigns of the Conqueror and his immediate successors, we cannot tell: under Henry II. a knight's fee was taken at 20*l.* *per annum;* and the total number was computed at the amount of rather more than 60,000.

Of the troops thus raised and thus supported, was formed the feudal cavalry of England, called indifferently knights or men at arms and hobilers. The former took the field clothed in hauberks of double mail *; to which were added hoods, breeches, stockings, and sabotins or shoes of the same construction; while the hands and arms were in like manner protected by gauntlets and sleeves of mail. Sometimes under the hauberk, though more frequently above it was worn the gambeson, — a loose garment which descended to the knees, and, being quilted or stuffed with cotton, served to deaden the strokes of sword or lance, which would have otherwise bruised the body, even if they failed to penetrate the armour. Between the hauberk and gambeson, again, a breastplate of forged iron, called a plastron, was occasionally put on; while above all, men of rank and distinction wore surcoats of satin velvet, or cloth of gold or silver, richly embroidered with their armorial bearings.

In addition to this load of body armour, each man at arms wore, suspended from a strap round the neck, a triangular shield made of wood, which, being covered with leather, was bound and strengthened by ribs of brass or iron. The shield was pointed at the bottom, became slightly convex in the direction of its breadth, and had handles fastened inside, by which to brace or brandish it on the left arm. The knight's head, again, was defended by a helmet, which varied both in form and construction

* The hauberk was composed of ringlets of iron, linked together like a net, which covered the whole of the body "Sometimes, but not commonly, men at arms wore habergeons made of plate mail, formed of small round plates of iron laid one over the other like scales of fish."—*Grose's Mil Ant.*

according to the caprice of the wearer or the taste of his chief. In some instances it was supplied with a small projection, called a nasal, to defend the face from a transverse cut; in others it was cylindrical, covering the whole of the head, and presenting narrow apertures only for breath and sight; while a third species left the face totally bare and unprotected. Helmets with beavers or visors seem not to have come into use till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when also the hauberk or coat of mail was exchanged for plate armour; but the practice of bearing their crests or coronets on the tops of their casques appears to have been very early adopted both by kings and barons.

Thus oppressed with defensive armour, and mounted upon a war saddle, the arcon of which was formed of bows of steel, and reached almost to his middle, the man at arms carried, as offensive weapons, one, sometimes two, swords, a lance, a dagger, and not unfrequently a war mace suspended from his saddle-bow. With the lance in rest he made his grand charge; the sword did its duty in the *mêlée*, after the lance was broken; the mace was either thrown at an adversary more nimble than himself, or used as a war club; while the dagger, called also the *misericorde*, gave the *coup de grace* to a fallen and obstinate foeman. Such, at least, is the language which custom compels us to employ; for, in truth, it is not easy to imagine how either the sword or the mace could be wielded with effect by men whose joints were all stiffened with plates and links of iron. With the lance, indeed, they might do good service. They had but to wield it aright, keeping themselves steady in their seats, and the weight of their horses fought for them; but that severe blows were ever struck by mailed knights, possessed of no more than the ordinary strength of men, we find it a hard matter to believe. The trifling loss of life, indeed, in all actions where men at arms alone were engaged, seems distinctly to contradict the notion that the knights of old were capable, through usage or superior bodily power, of dealing strokes in comparison with

which those of modern cavaliers might be accounted as "the flapping of a raven's wing."*

While the knight himself was thus swathed from top to toe in habiliments at least as cumbersome as they were useful, the horse which bore him to battle carried a load of armour under which any great display of activity was scarcely to be expected. Its face, head, and ears, were covered with a chafron, a sort of iron mask, which at once protected the animal from wounds, and hindered it from looking to its immediate front. From the centre of the forehead, a long iron spike frequently projected; the neck was defended by the manifaire†; poitrinals guarded the chest; while the buttocks and flanks were secured by croupiers and flancois, which fell down as low as the hocks. These several pieces were composed for the most part either of iron or brass, though jerked leather was sometimes used, and not unfrequently the animal was entirely enveloped in mail, or linen stuffed and quilted like the gambeson. In accordance with the fashion of the times, a great deal of embroidery was expended in adorning the chargers of the nobility; but all horses thus armed, whether with mail, or plate, or quilts, were equally called barded, or corruptly barbed.

It is very evident that a cavalry so encumbered with its own furniture and equipments could neither move with much rapidity, nor undergo long or toilsome marches. While passing from point to point, indeed, the men at arms seem to have been rarely guilty of oppressing their war steeds, which they intrusted to their pages to lead in the rear of the column, they themselves performing the journey upon palfreys. Many mischievous consequences flowed out of this custom, to which, however, the knights pertinaciously adhered. Of these, one, and not the least important, was, that, till the hour of general conflict occurred, the heavy cavalry could

* James I. is stated to have remarked of armour, that it was an excellent invention; for it not only saved the life of the wearer, but hindered him from doing hurt to any one else.

† It was composed of small plates of iron riveted one upon another.

not be employed on any service of importance; another showed itself in the not unfrequent overthrow of the men at arms, when charged ere they could find time to exchange their palfreys for their barbs. Nevertheless, in spite of these drawbacks, the men at arms were every where regarded as the strength of European armies; nor, perhaps, so long as gunpowder brought not its resistless violence against them, was the opinion altogether incorrect.

Next to the men at arms, in general estimation, though for many services not inferior to them, were the hobilers, or light cavalry of the feudal armies. These were made up from the higher domestics or the principal tenants of the men at arms, and derived their appellation, as some imagine, from the circumstance that they generally rode mares*; according to others, from the comparatively small size of their fleet and active horses. The hobilers were accoutred with a haqueton or armour of plate, a basinet or skull-cap, iron gauntlets, a sword, a knife, and a lance. Their horses were not protected by any defensive armour, though the saddles on which the riders sat were covered with steel, and hence were better able to bear the fatigue of rapid and frequent marches than those of the men at arms. We accordingly find that the hobilers, besides doing all the duty of patrol and outpost, were employed in reconnoitring, obtaining intelligence, harassing troops on a march, cutting off convoys, and pursuing a routed enemy. Against the charge of the knights they never presumed to make a stand; but they fought, like the dragoon of more modern times, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot.

The infantry, which served along with the cavalry just described, consisted of the yeomanry, vassals, and lesser dependants of the feudal lords. Most of these were defensively armed with an iron skull-cap, called, from its resemblance to a basin, the basinet; they wore

* The term is derived from a Danish word signifying a mare; but it is not very probable that these would be much used in an army where all the men at arms rode entire horses.

likewise coarse leathern or quilted linen doublets, and sometimes the jack. Their offensive weapons, again, were the lance, shorter by several feet than that of the horseman; the sword, the dagger, the gisarme, the battle-axe, the pole-axe, the black or brown bill, the mallet, the morris pike, the halbert or the pike. Of these, by far the most ancient was the lance: the morris pike, the halbert, and the pike, were instruments of, comparatively speaking, modern invention.

What the gisarme was, whether a kind of bill, or a mere club, we possess no means of ascertaining. In the statute of Winchester it is enumerated among the implements which the lowest order of freemen were required to carry; and hence it has been generally supposed, whether an iron or a wooden machine, to have been of very inferior utility. The battle-axe and pole-axe were both tremendous engines, which differ in little from one another except the name, both being formed like the common axe, except that the blades were broader, sharper, and stronger, and their handles longer. The black or brown bill was a species of halbert, the cutting part of which was hooked like a woodman's bill, while there projected two spikes, the one from the front, the other from the back, of the blade: it was called black, because it was frequently japanned, as the best means of preserving it from rust; an abundant coat of which procured for it the not less common epithet of brown. The mallet, again, was, as its name denotes, a heavy leaden mall, fixed to a handle five feet long, and provided with a spike in the butt. Besides being used, like the bill and pole-axe, as a separate weapon, it was carried by the English archers, who wore it slung behind them with the lead uppermost and the spike towards the ground. It was a tremendous engine in close combat, when wielded, as it generally was, by a man of surpassing strength; though, in the hands of the awkward or inexperienced, it was not inapt to prove as hurtful to friends as to foes.

The flower of the feudal infantry of England were, however, the archers, whether we restrict the application

of the term to the bearers of long bows only, or extend it to such as fought with the crossbow also. With respect to the long bow, it was an instrument first introduced as a weapon of war into this country by the Normans. Composed either of yew—by far the most appropriate wood for the purpose—or of ash, witch hazel, or elm, (from which last kinds of trees four bows were ordered by authority to be fabricated for one taken from the yew * ;) it was put into the hands of every English boy at the age of seven, and ceased not to furnish him both with sport and occupation till his arm had lost its strength. Nor was this done as a matter of choice only. From the æra of the Conqueror down to the introduction of the musket, laws were repeatedly enacted for the purpose of compelling the yeomanry of England to keep up their skill in the use of this truly national weapon. Thus we find it enjoined so late as the reign of Henry VIII., that " if any parent or master, having a youth or youths under seventeen years of age, should suffer any one of them to want a bow and two arrows for one month together, he should for every such neglect, forfeit 6*s.* 8*d.*; and every servant above seventeen years of age, and under sixty, who received wages, neglecting to furnish himself as here directed, shall for every default forfeit 6*s.* 8*d.*"

While the legislature thus took care that there should be no lack of bows and arrows in the kingdom, it was not less attentive to the due exercise of the archers both in town and country. The inhabitants of " all towns and places were directed to make up, maintain, or keep in repair, their butts, under a penalty of 20*s.* for every month in which they should be wanting;" and they were commanded " to exercise themselves with shooting thereat on holidays, and all other convenient times." Again, in order to train the youth with a steady eye and

* There is a vulgar notion that yew trees were planted in churchyards or central places, from which the youth of the several parishes might most readily provide themselves with bows. It is totally unsupported by any authority; indeed, the yew, wherever reared, was guarded by repeated laws against mutilation at the will of embryo archers.

a strong arm, it was provided that no archer under twenty-four years of age should shoot at a standing mark, under a penalty of four-pence for every shot made contrary to the regulation; while persons above twenty-four were restricted from shooting at any mark, except at a distance of 220 yards and upwards. The consequence of all this care and attention was, that the English archers far surpassed, in dexterity and courage, all others in the world, as their musketeers of the present times, the worthy successors of the archers, may with truth be said to stand alone among the infantry of Europe. The following description of an archer, his bow and appointments, is given by Ralphe Smithe: —

"Captains and officers should be skilful of that most noble weapon, and to see that their soldiers, according to their draught and strength, have good bows, well nocked, well stryngcd, everie stringe whippe in their nocke, and in the middles rubbed with wax, braser and shuting glove, some spare stringes trymed as aforesaid; every man one shefe of arrows, with a case of leather, defensible against the rayne, and in the same foure and twenty arrows, whereof eight of them should be lighter than the residue, to gall or astonye the enemy with the hail shot of light arrowes. Let every man have a brigandine, or a little cote of plate, a skull or hufkyn, a maule of lead, of five foot in length, and a pike, and the same hanging by his girdle, with a hook and a dagger: being thus furnished, teach them by masters to march, shoote, and retyre, keeping their faces upon the enemy's. Some tyme put them into great nowmbers, as to battell appertayneth, and thus use them oftentymes practised till they be perfecte; for those men in battell or skirmish cannot be spared; none other weapon may compare with the noble bow."

In addition to these appointments, the archers carried each a short sword, and sometimes one or two long stakes, pointed at both ends, with which to form a defence against cavalry. They fought almost always on foot; but as many of them followed the line of march

upon their palfreys, they have been known, on more than one occasion, to join battle without dismounting; they were then denominated hobiler archers.

The crossbow seems not to have come into general use among the English till the reign of Richard I.; from which period till 1627 it cannot be said to have been ever laid aside. There were different kinds of crossbows, such as the latch, the prodd, &c.; but they all carried indifferently arrows, darts, quarreaux or bolts of iron, stone or leaden bullets. The bows of some were made of steel, others of wood, and a third kind of horn; they were bent according to their size by the hand, by the feet, or by a machine called the martinet; and the common range of the point blank shot was from forty to sixty yards, with an elevation of upwards of 120. Crossbowmen were dressed and otherwise armed after a similar fashion with archers; and, like them, they fought generally on foot, but sometimes on horseback.

In addition to the feudal array, there existed of old a force called the *posse comitatûs*, of which the name, and to a certain extent the spirit, still remains. It consisted of the entire free male population of the county, whether tenants *in capite* or otherwise, whom the sheriff, in case of any tumult, rebellion, or invasion, could summon to give their aid in restoring tranquillity. The troops thus raised differed, however, from the feudal army in this respect, that they could neither be compelled to pass the seas, nor to march beyond the bounds of their several counties; and they were at liberty, as soon as the particular service for which they had been called out was performed, to return each man to his own home. Like the local militia among the Anglo-Saxons, however, the *posse comitatûs* were subjected to periodical musters. The particular description of arms, moreover, with which each man was bound to appear, is specified in various laws, from Henry II. downwards; and all were equally commanded to keep these arms serviceable, and transmit them as heir-looms to their posterity.

From these rude sources the Norman kings of Eng-

land were accustomed, during many centuries, to collect their armies. Not that there ever was a period, at least since the accession of Henry II., when mercenary troops were absolutely wanting. A standing army there might not be: of standing armies, indeed, in the modern acceptation of the word, England knew nothing prior to the grand rebellion; but there were always maintained in the royal castles and cities, and generally along the marches of Scotland and Wales, bands of hired soldiers. Some of these were native Englishmen, but the larger proportion were Germans, Flemings, or Swiss; and they were all known by the common appellation of routers, or ryters. They were well armed, moderately paid, and indifferently provided; and they lived for the most part, wherever they came, at free quarters.

So soon as it was determined to engage in war, either at home or abroad, the sovereign issued his edict that the tenants *in capite* and the *posse comitatûs* should assemble throughout the kingdom in their proper districts. Two or more officers, called apparatores, were then despatched into each county, to take an account of the number and efficiency of its military force, and to arrange both the infantry and cavalry into bands or bodies, not unlike our present battalions, squadrons, troops, and companies. The distribution of the cavalry was as follows: — Twenty-five or thirty troopers constituted a constabulary, and were placed under the orders of a constable. A number, varying from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty, composed a squadron, which was headed by an officer styled a banneret. Of these one third must be men at arms, the remaining two thirds hobilers; nor could any man aspire to the rank of their commander, whose possessions entitled him not to lead so many vassals into the field.

It is to be observed, that though there was no recognised division intermediate between the constabulary and the squadron, a knight or esquire was in the habit of commanding two constabularies united, which followed his pennon, and were named after it, as the squadron

was named after the banner of the banneret.* In like manner, the English infantry, from the era of the Conquest, were distributed into thousands, hundreds, and twenties, under distinct classes of officers, responsible one to the other. The commander of twenty bore the title of vingtener, the commander of one hundred that of centenary: of the peculiar denomination of the leader of one thousand no record has been preserved.

The forces thus regimented were marched to the point of general rendezvous, where the chain of responsibility received new links till it reached the sovereign himself. First in the ascent was an officer called the serjeant-major, corresponding in almost every respect to our general of brigade; above him stood, both in horse and foot, the lieutenant-general; superior to the lieutenant-general was the captain-general; he again was succeeded by the master of the ordnance, as the master of the ordnance was commanded by the marshal: last of all came the high constable, who made way only for the king. It is somewhat curious that, prone as the feudal manners were to render offices both in war and peace hereditary, only the two last-mentioned military dignities were handed down from father to son. The dignity of high constable, indeed, was entailed by William the Conqueror on the possessors of certain lands or manors, and was long enjoyed by the Bohuns earls of Essex: from them it passed to the Staffords dukes of Buckingham, till it was finally abolished, on the attainder of Edward duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Henry VIII. In like manner, Roger de Montgomery and William Fitz-Osborn were first created marshals of England by the Conqueror. The families of Clare earls of Pembroke next held it, till the accession of Henry VIII., by whom it was transferred to the Howards earls of Norfolk, its present noble possessors.

* When a knight was raised to the rank of a banneret, the sovereign or general caused the swallow's tail of his pennon to be cut off. It thus became a banner, and marked his authority over a troop capable of forming a solid square of seven, or ten, or fifteen per face. Hence the term squadron was derived.

Besides these officers, belonging, as we should express ourselves, to the general staff, we find in the feudal armies the scout master, who examined the ground for encampments, regulated the guards, and chose proper stations for the outposts; the truck master, who commanded the pioneers and took care of the intrenching tools; the waggon master, who looked to the means of transport, such as waggons, sumpter horses, &c. It is not very easy to determine whether the corporal of the field, a sort of aide-de-camp or brigade major, ought to be introduced here, or whether he was not, like many other functionaries, the produce of a later period.

The army was no sooner organised, than the term of service imposed upon the feudatories began, and the king, as a matter of course, made haste to transport them to the scene of action. If the war to be waged was with a continental nation, the troops mustered at some seaport town, that they might be embarked immediately; if with the Scots, Durham, Newcastle, or at the nearest York, was the usual place of assembly. The march then began, a body of hobilers or light cavalry, with the archers, leading the way; next came the bill-men, with such as carried lances, battle-axes, and mallets; then followed the men at arms upon their palfreys, and their pages leading their chargers; while in rear of all came the baggage and military engines, under escort of a second corps of hobilers and archers. When a halt was ordered, the common soldiers generally hutted themselves, the men at arms and officers of rank pitching tents; or the whole were quartered in such towns or villages as lay along the line of march. In presence of an enemy, again, the dispositions of a feudal army were few and simple: the archers posted themselves wherever wood, hedges, or other natural cover, promised to protect them from a charge of cavalry; and if from this point they could direct their arrows with effect, they remained there, if otherwise, they moved out into the open fields in extended order, where a body of horse were especially appointed to support them. The heavy infantry, form-

ing invariably in dense masses, with fronts which seldom counted more in number than twenty-five, bore down upon their adversaries, or stood to receive the shock either of cavalry or infantry. Lastly, the men at arms, acting for the most part on the flanks of these columns, charged in solid wedges, endeavouring to overthrow, by the weight of their horses and arms, all that stood before them. We have already stated that when men at arms met men at arms, the slaughter was seldom great; many were indeed unhorsed, when they became perfectly helpless till assisted to rise again, and not a few in sultry weather died of suffocation; but the numbers fairly slain by cut of sword or thrust of lance were small indeed. The case was widely different when these mailed warriors broke in upon a square or column of foot, or gained by some fortunate accident the flank of the archers. At Bannockburn, the yeomanry of England perished almost to a man by the lances of the Scottish knights; at Flodden the Scottish bill-men were cut to pieces by the English men at arms; and at Cressy and Poictiers, the French army was destroyed chiefly by volleys from the English bowmen.

We have spoken of a master of the ordnance as included among the chief officers in a feudal army; it will be necessary to explain the nature of some of the implements, from directing or controlling which he derived his title.

Under the general appellation of ordnance was included both long and cross bows, as well as the instruments used in the attack and defence of fortified places. These were either projectiles, as the scorpion, the catapulta, the balista, the ageron, &c.; or battering rams, belfries, cats, sows, &c., by which the walls were approached, breached, or scaled. The scorpion seems to have been neither more nor less than a huge cross-bow, the bow part being made of steel, and the cord of prepared gut instead of hemp; it was worked by manual labour, and shot arrows to a great distance, but was the least efficient of the projectiles. The catapulta, applied to the same purposes, acted

by machinery, which gave to it increased force, and caused it to carry farther. From the balista, again, stones were chiefly thrown; some of them of a prodigious weight, and with amazing violence; while the ageron, acting somewhat as a sling, was used for a like purpose, though with still greater effect. Besides these there were the mangonel, the trebuchet, the petrary, the robinet, the matigriffon, the oricotte, the bugle or bible, the espringal, the matafunda, the ribadequin, the engine a verge, and the war-wolf. All these cast stones, quarrels, darts, and arrows; and many of them continued in use long after the introduction of cannon and mortars.*

Of the implements used for approaching or destroying an enemy's fortifications, a few words will suffice to give an account. The battering ram, as every schoolboy knows, was a huge wooden beam headed with iron usually cast in the shape of a ram's head, which was violently pushed, either on men's shoulders or by machinery, against the wall of a besieged place. It was the great business of the besieged to break this ponderous engine by casting upon it heavy stones or bars of iron; or they would endeavour to lay hold of it with hooks and cranks made fast to strong chains applied to a windlass, while they interposed hurdles, woolsacks, or bags filled with horse hair, between it and the rampart, in order to deaden its blows, and prevent a breach from being effected. If the assailants came openly to the attack, it not unfrequently happened that they were repulsed; the stoutest mail proving no defence against such missiles as were then used: but sieges were rarely undertaken till proper provision had been made for them, and other implements besides the ram brought to bear. The cat and the sow, fashioned like the vinea or pluteus of the ancients, covered the operations of the breachers; while the belfries, if they failed to accomplish any other purpose, drew off from those who wielded the ram the attention of part of the garrison.

* For a particular description of these implements, the reader is referred to Grose's *Ancient Armour*.

The cat, cat-house, or guttus, was a wooden shed fortified with hides against fire, and worked upon wheels. Beneath, stood a company of men, by whom it was rolled onwards till it reached the foot of the wall; thus enabling them, in comparative security, either to work the ram or undermine the rampart. The sow was in its construction precisely the same, but its dimensions seem to have been more narrow; indeed, it took its name from the necessity imposed upon the soldiers of lying huddled close beneath it, like pigs under their dam. Some of the cats were casemated, for the purpose of enabling archers to shoot their arrows through: these were called castellated cats; but the greater number were, as we have described them, mere sheds. The belfry, again, like the movable towers of the Romans, was intended to put the assailants on a footing of equality with the defenders. It consisted of several stories communicating one with another by ladders; it was pushed upon wheels close to the beleaguered town; and when sufficiently lofty, was furnished with a bridge, which, being dropped from the upper tier upon the parapet, afforded a direct but perilous means of ingress. Many feats of desperate valour were performed by such as strove to make good their entrance into towns or castles in this manner; though, as in other kinds of escalade, the attack, if vigorously given, proved more frequently successful than the reverse.

Throughout the extended space of not less than four centuries, namely, from the year 1086 down to 1471, scarcely a single attempt was made to introduce, either into the equipment or exercise of the English armies, the slightest innovation. An important change in the mode of raising levies did indeed take place. The inconveniences attending personal and limited service led both the king and his nobles to desire a better system; and hence money, under the denomination of scutages, began by degrees to be levied upon the tenants *in capite* as a compensation for the loss of their personal attendance. With the sums thus collected both infantry and cavalry

were hired. However protracted the war might be, these men continued to follow their standards so long as their pay was made good and licence of plunder granted; when hostilities came to an end, they were disbanded and sent to their homes. We are not by this to be understood as asserting that the practice of calling out the feudal array was ever during the continuance of the feudal tenure laid wholly aside. On the contrary, we find knights and nobles so late as Henry VIII.'s time doing service at their liege lord's behest, both at home and abroad; but the numbers of mercenaries became every reign more and more considerable, till in the end they and they alone filled up the ranks of the army. It is to be observed, that though the knights and barons provided their own horses and appointments, and served during forty days without pay, the king was bound to make compensation to them for any loss of property which they might sustain. If their horses, for example, were killed, their arms or chattels captured by the enemy, they looked to the sovereign to replace them; and he failed not to do so as often as the state of his exchequer, seldom very flourishing, and frequently quite exhausted, would permit.

While the feudal warriors maintained themselves and their followers out of the proceeds of their own estates, wages were regularly furnished to such, both of horse and foot, as the scutage and aids enabled the monarch to hire. In the reign of Edward I., for example, we find that bannerets received four shillings per day, knights two shillings, and squires one shilling; all of whom were expected to provide their own arms as well as horses fully barbed. In like manner, constables of infantry were paid one shilling; hobilers, sixpence; vingteners and crossbowmen, sixpence; a private crossbowman received four-pence; an archer, three-pence; and a bill-man, pole-axe, and lance in the same proportion. On the other hand, sergeants at arms (a class introduced by Richard I. as a sort of body guard to himself, against the followers of the Old Man of the Mountain) were paid as high as

one shilling, besides being distributed in offices of trust among the chief garrison towns. This scale seems to have held good for some time, at least we find but trifling variations from it under Edward III. The following is a statement of the strength and pay of that monarch's mercenary army during the siege of Calais, in the 20th year of his reign: —

		At per diem:		
	My lord the prince - -	£1	0	0
	Bishop of Durham - -	0	6	8
13	Earls each - - -	0	6	0
44	Barons and bannerets, each -	0	4	0
1046	Knights - - -	0	2	0
4022	Esquires, constables, centenaries, and leaders	0	1	0
5104	Vingteners and archers on horseback	0	0	6
335	Paunceceneres.			
500	Hobilers.			
15,480	Foot archers - - -	0	0	3
314	Masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers, tent-makers, miners, armourers, gunners, and artillery-men - - -	some 12*d.* some 10*d.* some 6*d.* and some 3*d.*		
4474	Welsh foot, of whom 200 vingteners -	0	0	4
	The rest at - - - -	0	0	2
700	Masters, constables, mariners, pages.			
900	Ships, barges, balengers, and victuallers.			
31,000	The total of the aforesaid men, besides lords.			
	Total expense per diem - -	£294		

Though the discipline preserved in the feudal armies seems to have been far from strict, it is not to be imagined that they were at any period devoid either of a code of laws, or of officers and ministers appointed for their execution. Whenever, on the contrary, an expedition was decreed, the king, assisted by his peers, drew up a series of regulations, to which all persons employed on that particular service were required to pay obedience. These became, indeed, null and void so soon as the service in question had been completed; but during its continuance they were supposed to be rigidly observed by men of all ranks and conditions. In very early periods the chief administrators of military law were the constable and marshal: they sat as judges on all questions

involving not merely military offences, but any dispute between one soldier and another respecting property or rights; and they were assisted in giving judgment by the most experienced lawyers both among the military and civil officers of the crown. These courts were provided, for the better despatch of business, with a judge martial, auditor, clerks, &c.; while under-provosts, gaolers, tipstaves, and executioners carried their sentences into effect. Such was the nature of the machinery formerly erected for the preservation of order in the feudal camps; that it was on all occasions brought into play, it were a great deal too much to assert: indeed, when the temper of the times enabled the baron and knight to deal with their followers according to their own individual will, we cannot be surprised to find that caprice was to the full as much attended to as justice.

As the punishments inflicted on criminals under the martial law of the olden times were exceedingly severe, so were the rewards held out as encouragements to valour and hardihood in the highest degree tempting. At first, lands were granted with a profusion which soon defeated the object of the donors, by swallowing up all, or nearly all, that the crown possessed the power to give away. Afterwards, the prospect of honours, such as knighthood, advancement to the rank of banneret, and some addition to the armorial bearings of the individual, urged on the aspiring squire and gentleman to many a deed of gallantry. In proportion, however, as manners underwent a change, and the habit of hiring men's lives and limbs came into fashion, both the one and the other of these incitements were withdrawn. Edward the Black Prince bestowed upon lord James Audley and his heirs for ever, as the reward of his bravery in the battle of Poictiers, two separate grants from the crown lands, one to the value of 400*l.* and the other of 600*l.* a year. Edward IV. granted to Rauf Vestynden an annuity of 10*l.* *per annum*, "for the good and agreeable services which he did unto us in the beyring and holding of our standard of the Black Bull at the battayl of Shèrborne in Elmett."

Not at any period, however, has England been absolutely neglectful of brave men who have suffered wounds or mutilation in her defence. By the statute 43 Eliz., the majority of the justices of the peace, in their Easter sessions, are empowered to levy a tax upon every parish towards the relief of maimed soldiers and mariners, so that no parish shall pay weekly above ten-pence, or under two-pence. Chelsea Hospital stands a lasting monument of the liberality of the Stuarts; and the present rate of pensions and retirements speaks volumes in praise of a later dynasty.

We have just alluded to the severity of military punishments during the prevalence of feudal service: they principally consisted of mutilation and death; the latter being inflicted on many trivial occasions, and invariably in a shape as revolting as it was possible to devise. Thus, a man who slew another on board of ship is ordered, by the regulations of Richard I., to be tied to the body of his victim, and cast into the sea. In like manner, a man committing murder on shore was tied to the dead body, and buried alive; while marauding, brawling, and other minor offences were punished sometimes by beheading, sometimes by hanging, but more frequently with the loss of ears, noses, or a limb. The practice of decimating a corps which had on any particular occasion misconducted itself, was then very common; and when a smaller number were in fault, the delinquents cast the dice in order to ascertain who should suffer. To the disgrace of a later age be it recorded, that this custom had not entirely ceased even in the reign of William III.

It is not till the 11th year of Edward III. that we find any document calculated to create a belief that the soldiers of England, whether feudatory or mercenary, were clothed at the public expense. Under the first princes of the Norman line, indeed, his armour, such as it was, doubtless constituted the sole covering of the recruit; and as that belonged either to himself or to his lord, it is evident that with the providing of habiliments for these troops the king had no concern: but,

from the date above alluded to, a part, if not the whole, of the hired soldiers were clothed out of the money raised under the head of subsidies and scutages. By degrees, indeed, contracts were entered into as well for the equipments as the wages of battalions and companies. The measure was complained of, as productive of serious evils; not the least of which was, the stoppage of the soldier's pay by his officer, under the pretext of purchasing necessaries; and an act was, in consequence, passed in the 18th of Henry VI., prohibiting all captains from making any arrears in the wages of the men, except for the single purpose of providing them with apparel. Neither then, however, nor for many years afterwards, was there any livery or uniform for the English army. The men wore, for the most part, badges engraved with the arms of their officers, of a form and texture resembling the badges now worn by watermen; and, occasionally, scarfs of a particular colour served to distinguish the troops of one party from those of another. In the reign of Henry VIII. white was the prevalent colour — on which was drawn a St. George's cross, the emblem of England. Under Elizabeth, dark green or russet distinguished the infantry, while scarlet cloaks were worn by the cavalry alone.

We have said that no material alteration took place either in the arming or general organisation of the English army throughout the extended period of four centuries. It was, therefore, with troops thus raised and thus accoutred that England first established her claim to the appellation of a great military nation. It was by her feudal forces, her brave knights, hardy bill-men, and gallant archers, that Wales and Ireland were subdued; that Scotland was completely over-run; and France brought, on more than one occasion, to acknowledge an English monarch as her sovereign. Holland likewise, Flanders, Germany, as well as Rhodes, Sicily, and the Holy Land, all witnessed the prowess of her chivalry; and the chronicles of all bear equal testimony to the skill of her leaders, and the bravery of her troops. It is scarcely necessary to add, that more recent contests have

told the same tale, if not on every minute occasion, without a question on the aggregate. Defeats and reverses the English have from time to time experienced—defeats usually arising from the imbecility of our commanders; and reverses for which we have been indebted often to mistaken parsimony, sometimes to a worse principle, in our governments. But, take it for all in all, we need not fear the accusation of vanity, when we assert, that if general success in war entitles any nation to be accounted a great military power, the term may with perfect propriety be bestowed on our own.

The first innovation which we are required to notice in the feudal military system took place when gunpowder began to be applied to the purposes of warfare. At what precise era this great occurrence took place the ablest antiquaries are by no means agreed. According to Owen, cannon were not known in England till the year 1435; yet the same author asserts that four pieces were used by the English army at the battle of Cressy in 1346; but, whatever the date of their introduction might be, it is certain that the circumstance effected during many years no change whatever either in the equipment or ordering of our armies. No man, whether a horse or foot soldier, thought it necessary to disencumber himself of any part of his defensive armour because a single machine had been invented against which all defensive armour was useless. Besides, the machine in question, being heavy and unmanageable, was but little used in field encounters, where, after giving its fire once or twice, it ceased to act. It was by the arrow, the spear, and the sword that battles were still decided; and against them corselets and shields afforded the same protection as ever. We accordingly find that, so late as Henry VIII.'s reign, both cavalry and infantry carried almost the same harness which their ancestors had severally borne under Edward I.; nor was it till after the restoration that even the infantry ceased to fortify themselves with helmets, cuirasses, and jacks.

The year 1471 is remarkable for the introduction into

this country of the hand-gun; the rude forerunner of our present firelock. To Edward IV. and a corps of three hundred Flemings, with whom he landed at Ravenspurg in Yorkshire, were the English indebted for their earliest knowledge of this weapon, though it came not into general use for many years afterwards. It was a cumbersome shapeless machine, of very small bore, and discharged in the most awkward manner, which, besides carrying to less than half the distance of a long bow, occupied a very long time in loading. We cannot, therefore, wonder that a people so expert in archery should have treated it, for a while, with absolute contempt; indeed, we hear no more of it from the day of its arrival till the siege of Berwick in 1521. Even then, however, hand-guns were far from superseding the ancient national weapon of the English yeomen; it was not till the time of Henry VIII. that the improvement in their construction rendered them comparable, as implements of annoyance, either to the long or the cross bow. The following description of the fire-arms in use even at the period last alluded to, is taken from Mr. Grose's valuable "Military Antiquities of Great Britain:"—

"In the statute of the 33d of Henry VIII. it was enacted, that no hand-guns should be used of less dimensions than one yard in length, gun and stock included, which shows that the early hand-guns were of a much smaller length than those afterwards made; probably the calibre was in proportion, in which case they would do but little execution on men mostly armed; this may, perhaps, in some measure account for their being so slowly adopted. The piece called the haquebut, or hagbut, was still shorter; for by the same statute it might not be under three quarters of a yard long, gun and stock, as before, included. This piece is by some writers supposed to owe its name to its butt being hooked or bent, somewhat like those now used; the butts of the first hand-guns being, it is said, nearly straight. There were likewise some pieces called demi-haques, either from being less in size, or from having their butts less

curved. A sort of pistol, called a dag, was also used about the same time as hand-guns and haquebuts. Pistols were so called from being made at Pistoza in Tuscany. After some time the haquebut obtained the name of harquebus, which is by Fanchet derived from the Italian words *arca bouza*, or the 'bow with a hole.' It does not appear that the harquebus was originally confined to any particular length or bore. All these pieces, namely, the hand-gun, hackbut, harquebus, and dag, were at first fired with a match, and some of them afterwards with a wheel lock: the former, by means of a spring, let down a burning match upon the priming in the pan; and the latter was a contrivance for exciting sparks of fire by the friction of a notched wheel of steel at the bottom of the pan, which, with a quick revolution, grated against a flint; the spring which turned this wheel was wound up, or, as the term was, spanned, with an instrument called a spanner, somewhat like the key of a lock." We have only to add to this, that specimens of every kind of fire-arms known in this country since the date of the siege of Berwick in 1521 are to be seen in the Tower of London.

The inconsiderable execution performed by these small and narrow pieces led to the introduction of their opposites,—to muskets so long, so wide, and so ponderous, that the strongest man was unable to point them, except over a rest. A stout but light stake, armed with a pike at the bottom, and a sort of hook at the top, came accordingly to form no unimportant article in a musketeer's appointments, which he was trained to carry, to slope, to poise, and to fix in the ground, with the same regularity that marked his mode of wielding the musket itself. Upon this he leant his implement where-ever circumstances required him to give fire; and when marching, he either used it as a walking-stick in his left hand, or bore it suspended by a strap from the stock of his piece.

The superior efficiency of fire-arms no sooner became fully ascertained, than the ingenuity of artificers was

directed to improve them. In the reign of Elizabeth the musket was used with a rest. In James I.'s reign it gave place to a more portable weapon, called the caliver; a matchlock which could be used in all situations, without the aid of any support whatever. Some opposition was made to the adoption of these machines in the army, because the rest had latterly been converted into a sort of pike or lance, with which the musketeer might defend himself against cavalry *; but the superior pliability, if we may use the expression, of the caliver over the long hand-guns at last prevailed. During Elizabeth's reign the musket with the rest was every where commended; soon after James mounted the throne it had entirely given way to the caliver.

Notwithstanding these great and important changes in the nature of their offensive weapons, the soldiers of England still continued to load themselves with armour, if not to the excess which marked their habits during the early times, still in a degree which would appear to us monstrous. When we mention, however, that the musket formed but a secondary weapon in the field; that it had taken the place, and that imperfectly, of the bow alone; and that the pike and the bill were still carried, and wielded to good effect, our surprise will be in some degree abated. In the days of queen Elizabeth, our musketeers wore morions, or steel caps called pots, cuirasses consisting of backs and breasts, and tassets covering their thighs. Their powder for loading was carried in a flask, the bullets in a bag, and their finer powder used for priming in small canisters, attached to a belt, which, with its appendages, went by the general name of a bandeleer.

With respect, again, to the pikemen, who marched and fought in the same column with the musketeers, they continued to clothe themselves as they had ever done, some even adding to their former accoutrements the roundel or circular shield. Nor were there wanting com-

* This was done by inserting a tuck into the head of the machine, which the soldier sprang, when he settled his rest, and opposed, as our men do their bayonets, to the breasts of the horses.

panies of double-armed men, who wielded both the bow and the spear; the first against horse or foot when at a distance, the last more especially against the horse.

At what precise period the firelock came first into use, it is not very easy to determine. From a military treatise called "England's Trainings, published in 1619, by Edward Davis, Gentleman," we find that the matchlock was then the only fire-arm known; at all events, that with it, and with it alone, the English musketeers were armed; "therefore a souldier," says our author, "must either accustom himself to bear a piece or pike: if he bear a piece, then must he first learn to hold the same; to accommodate his match between the two foremost fingers and his thombe, and to plant the great end on his breast with a gallant souldier-like grace; and being ignorant, to the intent that he may be more encouraged, let him acquaint himself first with the firing of touch powder in his panne, and so by degrees both to shoote offe, to bow and beare up his bodye, and so consequently to attain to the level and practice of an assured and serviceable shot, readily charge, and with a comely touch discharge, making choice at the same instant of his mark, with a quick and vigilant eie. His flaske and touch-box must keep his powder, his purse and mouth his bullets: in skirmish, his left hand must hold his match and piece, and the right hand use the office of charging and discharging." In 1677, however, the firelock musket seems to have gained in public estimation, the cartridge being about the same time introduced. The following extracts from a treatise on the art of war, by the earl of Orrery, published in the year just specified, enumerate some of the advantages which it was supposed to possess over the matchlock:—

"First, It is exceedingly more ready; for with the firelock you have only to cock, and you are prepared to shoot; but with your matchlock you have several motions, the least of which is as long performing as but that one of the other, and oftentimes much more hazard-

ous: besides, if you fire not the matchlock musket as soon as you have blown your match, (which often, especially in hedge fights and in sieges, you cannot do,) you must a second time blow your match, or the ashes it gathers hinders it from firing. Secondly, The match is very dangerous, either where bandeleers are used, or where soldiers run hastily in fight to the budge barrel to refill their bandeleers. I have often seen sad instances thereof. Thirdly, Marching in the nights to avoid an enemy, or to surprise one, or to assault a fortress, the matches often discover you, and inform the enemy where you are, whereby you suffer much, and he obtains much. Fourthly, In wet weather, the pan of the musket being made wide open for a while, the rain often deads the powder and the match too, and in windy weather blows away the powder, ere the match can touch the pan; nay, often in very high winds I have seen the sparks blown from the match fire the musket ere the soldier meant it, and thereby either lose his shot, or wound or kill some one before him. Whereas in the firelock the motion is so sudden, that what makes the cock fall on the hammer, strikes the fire, and opens the pan at once. Lastly, to omit many other reasons, the quantity of match used in an army does much add to the baggage, and being of a very dry quality, naturally draws the moisture of the air, which makes it relax, and, consequently, less fit, though carried in close waggons; but if you march without waggons, the match is the more exposed, and, without being dried again in ovens, is but of half the use which otherwise it would be of; and which is full as bad as the skeans you give the corporals, and the links you give the private soldiers (of which, near an enemy, or on the ordinary guard duty, they must never be unfurnished); if they lodge in huts or tents, or if they keep guard in the open field (as most often it happens), all the match for instant service is too often rendered uncertain or useless; nothing of all which can be said of the flint, but much of it to the contrary. And then the soldiers generally wearing their links of

match near the bottom of their bellies, on which their bandeleers are fastened in wet weather, generally spoil the match they have; and, if they are to fight on a sudden and in the rain, you lose the use of your small shot, which is sometimes of irreparable prejudice."

Lord Orrery, in this passage, at once enumerates the inconveniences to which the soldier armed with a matchlock was exposed, and explains the method of using the weapon in active service. It is necessary, however, to add, that in order to hinder the match from betraying its bearer, or suffering, as here stated, from the wind or rain, a tin case was invented, into which, perforated with small holes, it was thrust. This the musketeer carried in his hat as often as circumstances rendered concealment necessary; under other circumstances it was borne in the right hand, the musket being poised in the left.

Notwithstanding this improvement in the method of discharging the musket by the substitution of the flint and steel for the match, it continued during many years but an inefficient weapon, particularly where such as carried it were exposed to be attacked by cavalry. No battalion was therefore considered as complete, unless formed partly of musketeers and partly of pikemen, the former of whom took post usually in the front or on the flanks, but retreated into the centre when threatened by the enemy's horse. "The arms offensive and defensive," says the statute 13 and 14 Charles II., "with the furniture for horse, are to be as follows:—The defensive arms, a back, breast, and pot, and the breast and pot to be pistol-proof; the offensive arms, a sword, and a case of pistols, the barrels whereof are not to be under fourteen inches in length; the furniture of the horse to be a great saddle or padd, with burrs and straps to affix the holsters unto, a bit and bridle, with a pectoral and crupper. For the foot, a musketeer is to have a musket, the barrel whereof is not to be under three feet in length, and the gauge of the bore to be for twelve bullets to the pound, a collar of bandeleers, with a sword: provided that all muster-masters shall for the present admit and allow of any

muskets already made, which will bear a bullet of fourteen to the pound; but no muskets which henceforth shall be made are to be allowed of, but such as are of the gauge of twelve bullets to the pound. A pikeman is to be armed with a pike, made of ash, not under sixteen feet in length, the head and foot included, with a back, breast, head-piece, and sword: provided that all muster-masters shall for the present admit and allow of any pikes already made that are not under fifteen feet in length; but no pikes which shall hereafter be made are to be allowed of that are under sixteen feet in length."

A wider step towards the total abolition of pikes was taken in the reign of James II., when some of the musketeers were equipped with daggers, so formed as that the handles might be thrust or screwed into the muzzles of the pieces. The practice was borrowed from the French, who, in the year 1671, thus equipped a regiment of fusileers; and our countrymen so far adhered to the example set, that they gave the dagger only to one company in each battalion, called, from their being likewise trained to throw the hand grenade, grenadiers. We find this invention noticed, for the first time, in a military treatise published in 1686, in which the old name of dagger is still retained: in 1690, however, the weapon is called a bayonet — a name which it obtained from Bayonne, the place of its original fabrication. It is not a little remarkable, that the progress of advancing from this clumsy expedient to the present mode of fixing the bayonet should be, in a great degree, unnoticed by all our antiquaries; that it was gradual, however, and more tardy than might have been expected, we have every reason to believe: indeed, the following anecdote abundantly testifies that nothing short of a stern necessity drove our forefathers into its adoption. We give the story in the words of Mr. Grose, to whom it was communicated by the grandson of the officer named below: —

"In one of the campaigns of king William III. in Flanders, in an engagement the name of which he had

forgot, there were three French regiments whose bayonets were made to fix after the present fashion, a contrivance then unknown in the British army. One of them advanced against the 25th with fixed bayonets. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, who commanded it, ordered his men to screw their bayonets into their muzzles to receive them, thinking they meant to decide the affair point to point; but to his great surprise, when they came within a proper distance, the French threw in a heavy fire, which for a moment staggered his people, who by no means expected such a greeting, not conceiving it possible they could fire with fixed bayonets; they nevertheless recovered themselves, charged, and drove the enemy out of the line."

Notwithstanding this specimen of the superiority of the socket bayonet over the dagger, several years elapsed ere any attempts were made to introduce it into the English army. When at length this was done, two rings were fastened to the handle of the dagger, which passed over the barrel of the musket, so as to leave the muzzle free; but at what precise period these gave place to the present improved socket, we have been unable to ascertain. Both daggers and bayonets were at first flat, like large carving knives; the triangular shape which they bear at present is a very modern invention.*

While the weapons with which the English troops were armed underwent these gradual but important changes, the systems both of raising and disciplining armies varied from age to age, at a pace neither more rapid nor less sure. We have stated elsewhere that under Edward III. the custom of recruiting by indenture began, according to which the sovereign contracted with one or more of his nobles or bishops to supply him with a certain number of troops for a certain length of time. In this case the king paid, or contracted to pay, to the other party in the contract, a stipulated sum in money, in

* I have myself seen the flat bayonet brought into the field. I was one of a party of officers who used a weapon of the kind, taken from the enemy, as a carving-knife on Christmas-day 1814.

return for which the subject raised, armed, equipped, and maintained, at a rate of daily wages previously agreed upon, the number of men and horses required. This practice, which during Edward's reign prevailed only in part, came into constant use under Henry V., and was not entirely abolished so late as Henry VIII.; but it was not the only expedient adopted in procuring men disposable for foreign expeditions. The sovereigns were then in the habit of offering a full pardon to criminals who, being willing to serve in the army abroad, could find security to answer any charges that might be brought against them on their return; and the justices of the peace were empowered to issue their pardons, and receive the obligations of the criminals by whom they might be accepted. These were the regular and constitutional modes of assembling English armies, which met together when needed either for attack or defence, and were disbanded as soon as the particular service was performed; but other and less regular methods were not wanting. Several of the sovereigns, under the authority of the royal prerogative, compelled districts, cities, towns, corporations, and even private individuals, to provide men and horses for the public service, or to furnish such sums as might enable the government to find recruits elsewhere. The power under which they claimed to act was repeatedly declared by the commons to be illegal and oppressive; yet the practice was continued in full vigour down to the last year of Elizabeth's reign.

All this while, the laws which gave power to the sovereign of calling out, to resist invasion or suppress rebellion, the whole male population of the kingdom, remained in full force. Statutes were, indeed, from time to time enacted, for the purpose of compelling the people to be in readiness, while the magistrates were especially directed to hold periodical musters both of arms and men. By these, no man between the ages of fifteen and sixty, who failed to produce the weapons which his con-

dition in life required, was permitted to escape punishment; and all, whether inhabitants of town or country, were commanded to exercise themselves, from time to time, both in the musket and the long bow. In large cities, moreover, but especially in London, there were trained bands, or corps, of horse and foot, which exercised at stated seasons, under officers chosen by the wards, and constituted a species of militia, little, if at all, inferior in point of skill in their movements to regular troops. It was upon these forces, generally quiescent, but always ready to take the field, that the sovereigns of the house of Tudor relied for the defence of the realm: for foreign expeditions, as we have already shown, they raised mercenaries, whom they discharged as soon as the particular service was effected. A brief sketch of the system of exercise and movements adopted in the armies during this period, may not be out of place in a work like the present.

In a treatise printed at Cambridge in 1632, entitled "Militarie Instructions for the Cavalarie," we find that the force in question was classed under four heads; namely, "The Lanciers, the Cuirassiers, the Harquebouse and Carbine, and the Dragone." The lancier was, according to this work, to be mounted on a horse fifteen hands high at the least, strong, swift, and well managed. "His arms were a close casque or head-piece; gorget, breast pistoll-proof (as all the cuirasse in every piece of it), and caliver-proof (by reason of the placcate), the back pouldrons, vanbraces, two gauntlets, tassets, cuissets, culets, or guard de rein, all fitting to his body; a good sword (which was to be very stiffe, cutting, and sharp-pointed), with a girdle, and hangers so fastened upon his cuirass as he might easily draw it; a buffe coat, with long skirts, to wear between his armour and his cloathes; his lance, either after the wonted manner, or (as Walhausen hath it) after the manner of a pike, only somewhat thicker at the butt end, the head of it either to be three-edged, or otherwise, like a pike

head, made strong and sharpe, the length to be about eighteen foot, it being otherwise of little effect either against infantirie or cavallarie; within two foot of the butt end to be bored through, and through it a thong of strong leather to be put, to fasten it to the right arm, for the surer holding and better managing thereof. On the outside of his right stirrop to have a socket of leather fastened thereunto, to place the butt end of his lance therein. His saddle to be handsome, made with advantage, fit for the rider to keep firm against the violence of a shock; thereat he should have one, if not two, pistolls, of sufficient bore and length, with keys and cartouches; also he must have flaske and cartouche-box, and all appurtenances fitting."

2. The cuirassier, again, "is to be armed at all points, and accoated with a buffe coat under his arms, like the lance; his horse not inferior in stature or strength, though not so swift. He must have two cases, with good fire-locks; pistolls hanging at his saddell, having the barrell of eighteen inches long, and the bore of twenty bullets in the pound (or twenty-four, rowling in); a good sword, stiffe, and sharp-pointed, like the lancier. This sort of cavalarie is of late invention: for, when the lanciers proved hard to be gotten, first, by reason of their horses, which must be very good, and exceeding well exercised; secondly, by reason their pay was abated through scarcity of money; thirdly, and principally, because of the scarcitie of such as were practised and exercised to the use of the lance, it being a thing of much labour and industry to learn; the cuirassier was invented only by discharging the lancier of his lance. He is to have a boy and a nagge, as is otherwise said, to carry his spare arms and oat sacke, and to get him forage. His saddle and bit must be strong, and be made after the best manner. He is also to wear a scarfe, as hath been showed, chapter 20.* He is to have his bridle

* The scarf was worn by all soldiers, to distinguish one side from the other, in the absence of uniforms.

made with a chain, to prevente cutting; and he must be very careful to have all his furniture strong and usefull."

3. " The harquebusier was first invented in France, at the time of the warres of Piedmont; whom Melzo and Basta * would have either not armed (though they confesse themselves contradicted therein by others), or but slightly (only with a head-piece and breast), and those but some few of the foremost. But the printed edict of the States of the United Provinces expressly commandeth that every harquebusier be armed with an open casque, gorget, back and breast, of the horseman's furniture; and captain Bingham, in his 'Low Country Exercise,' appointeth him a cuirasse, pistoll-proof. Moreover, by the late orders rendered in by the council of warre, the harquebusier (besides a good buffe coate) is to have the back and breast of the cuirassier's arming more than pistoll-proofe, the head-piece, &c. For offensive arms, he must have the harquebuse of two foot and a half long (the bore of seventeen bullets in the pound, rowling in), hanging on a belt by a swivel, a flaske, and touch-box and pistolls, like the cuirassiers, (as some writers have it). His horse (according to the same edict of the States) should not be under fifteen hands high, being swift and well managed. The carabinier is to be mounted on a middling guelding, and to have a good buffe coat, a carbine or petronell (the barrel two foot and a half long, the bullet twenty-four in the pound, rowling in), hanging as the harquebusse, a sword, girdle, and hangers, flaske and touch-box, as the harquebusier."

" 4. The dragoni is of two kinds, pike and musket. The pike is to have a thong of leather, about the middle of the pike, for the more commodious carrying of it. The musketier is to have a strap or belt fastened to the stock thereof, almost from the one end to the other, by which (being on horseback) he hangeth it at his back, keeping his burning match and the bridle in the left hand. His horse is of the least price, the use thereof

* Two military writers of high repute.

being but to expedite his march, alighting to do his service."

The author having thus described the equipments of the cavalry, proceeds to lay down general rules for the training both of men and horses,—by lunging, riding the figure of 8, tilting at the ring, the groove, &c. He next instructs the trooper how to mount, how to face, wheel, and incline to either flank; and it is astonishing to observe how closely his lessons approach to those taught in books of regulations at the present day. Here, however, all resemblance between the drill of the 17th and 19th centuries may be said to end. At the former era, the loading and handling of the trooper's piece was tedious and operose. The method of forming troops and squadrons likewise in lines, if they may be so called, not under any circumstances less than five and sometimes ten deep, would, in these days, be scouted as ridiculous. The firing in single ranks too, each of which shall file off to make way for that behind it, totally contradicts all our notions of propriety. Nevertheless, when the same writer comes to treat of the broad principles of war,—when he instructs his reader in the art of patrolling, guarding against surprise, beating up an enemy's quarters, and beguiling him into an ambuscade,—we are forced to acknowledge that the experience of more than two centuries has added very little to the stock of military knowledge possessed by mankind. We shall not attempt to give any abridgment of this curious and valuable tract, because it is in itself as concise as were at all consistent with perspicuity; we must therefore be content to refer the reader, who is inquisitive in such matters, to the book itself, assuring him that he will derive both amusement and instruction from its perusal.

The cavalry seems at this period to have been divided into troops of 60 or 100 strong; which were commanded each by one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, one quarter-master, with corporals, trumpeters, &c., as they are now. Four of these, namely, two of cuirassiers, and two of harquebusiers, formed a regiment; the

lancers would appear to have acted entirely by themselves. Of the precise title bestowed upon the commander of the cavalry regiment, at the period here referred to, we have no account. In the treatise before us mention is made of a general, a lieutenant-general, a commissary, and quarter-master general, of whom the two last are represented as receiving their orders from the generals, and attending to the internal discipline of the corps: but whether they held the stations which a few years later brought with them the titles of colonel and major, we cannot tell. As yet the whole of the cavalry force was reckoned by squadrons.

It was not till towards the end of Elizabeth's reign that any uniform or consistent method of drilling the infantry was introduced into the English army. On foreign service, our countrymen doubtless adopted the systems which prevailed among their allies; but, at home, their tactics were confined wholly to the exercising of men with their weapons, in such simple formations as appeared best calculated to allow space to their limbs. The experience which many of Elizabeth's officers acquired in the Low Countries, induced them to aim at the establishment of a better order of things. They caused the musket and caliver, in a great degree, to supersede the bow; they taught both pikemen and musketeers to handle their arms in a uniform manner; and they compiled instructions for the proper distribution of companies, as well for service as for show. According to these, the infantry, when in line, were drawn up ten deep; the musketeers upon the flank, the pikemen in the centre. Both ranks and files had three different distances, namely, open order, order, and close order; the first placing the men at a distance of six feet from one another, the second three, and the last one and a half. The musketeers neither increased nor diminished their distance beyond the second order; the pikemen stood and marched sometimes in one and sometimes in another. When the musketeers were commanded to fire, the nine front ranks stooping down, the rear rank

discharged their pieces; they then employed themselves in loading, while the rank next to the rear stood up. In this manner the tiraillade was carried on, rank succeeding rank in their discharges; so that when the front rank at last came into play, most of those behind were ready to act again. It is impossible, within the narrow limits of an Introduction, to give any outline of the manual and platoon, far less of the wheelings, marchings, and field manœuvres practised long ago. Enough is done when we state, that the former would in our eyes appear grotesque and ridiculous; that the latter were at once complicated, useless, vexatious, and harassing. He was accounted the best officer who could throw his regiment into figures the most preposterous; for such as wedges, rhombs, squares, triangles, the shears, the saw, &c. were things of every day's practice.

While these improvements were going on in the cavalry and infantry departments, it is not to be imagined that the artillery—the fountain, as it were, from which all other fire-arms flowed—was left in the rude and cumbrous state to which its first inventors had advanced it. We have mentioned already, that the exact date of the introduction of this machine into England is a point far from settled among antiquarians. John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, speaks of "crakeys of war," that is, of artillery, as used by Edward III. in his first campaign against the Scots, 1327; and Villani, the Italian historian, asserts, with Owen, that, at the battle of Cressy, 1346, the English fought with artillery. Froissart, on the other hand, makes no mention of these implements, —an omission, supposing it to be such, for which we can hardly account in a chronicler so remarkable in other matters for the minuteness of his descriptions. Let the date of the introduction of cannon, however, be what it may, we know that they were at first of the most unwieldy structure; that they were composed of iron bars, soldered or welded together, and strengthened here and there with iron hoops. Some specimens of

this kind of gun are, it is believed, still in existence; of the cannon fabricated out of jacked leather (and of this substance cannon were occasionally made), it is doubtful whether any have been preserved.

The first cannon used were of a prodigious bore, carrying balls, generally made of stone, which weighed from 200 to 1200 pounds weight. They were mounted upon huge beams of timber perfectly immovable, except by means inapplicable to field service; and could be fired with effect only at a certain level, no instrument having been invented either to elevate or depress them. It was a long while ere cannon of any description were fabricated in England. Henry VII. was the first of our sovereigns who attempted to cast cannon in his own dominions; and even he was, after a short trial, compelled to employ foreigners for the purpose. From the date of his reign, however, the progress made in rendering these instruments available for all purposes was truly astonishing. In the fourteenth century cannon were so unwieldy as to be little regarded either in the field or at a siege. In the fifteenth, artists had so far improved upon them, that war-carts, a sort of waggons shaped like a bee-hive, and loaded with two patereros, the muzzles of which projected through the roof of the machine, were invented. In 1588, we read of mortars used at the siege of Vaklerdonc in Guelders, and not long after, of hand grenades; whilst in Charles I.'s time, the gun, under all its forms, was brought almost to the same construction which it retains at this moment. Numerous alterations in the mounting of the instrument have, indeed, been since effected; it has, from age to age, been rendered more light, more moveable, and more manageable; but the form of the gun itself has undergone no alteration of importance since the era of Marlborough's wars, nor indeed from a date considerably anterior.

In addition to the common gun and the mortar, several other machines, still in use, were invented and brought into play upwards of two centuries ago. Car-

cases of almost every kind were in use so early as 1594; in the same year the howitzer was fabricated; and the petard can be traced still farther back, namely, to the year 1555. It was an instrument frequently used in the attack of fortified places during the grand rebellion; and was not absolutely exploded so lately as the date of the peninsular war. As may be imagined, one and all of these weapons were rendered comparatively innoxious, in consequence of the total absence of all training among the troops appointed to direct them; for the royal regiment of artillery was not known as a separate service till the beginning of the 18th century.

We have taken occasion to observe, in more than one place, that since the conquest there never was a period at which the Kings of England did not retain in their service a number, greater or less, of mercenary troops. These were, indeed, too few, even at the most, to deserve the appellation of a standing army; and being distributed among garrisons, exposed at all moments to hostile attacks, they may be said to have been constantly on active service. Thus, along the marches of Wales and Scotland, afterwards in Ireland, when by right of conquest that island became annexed to the English crown, we find bands of archers, bill-men, and even men at arms, constantly stationed; yet it is perfectly certain, that to Cromwell and the long parliament England is indebted for her first familiarity with a force, without which it is now admitted on all hands that she could not retain her rank among the nations. It is true that both Henry VII. and Henry VIII. made some advances towards the state of which we are now speaking. The former prince established fifty yeomen of the guard, which the latter increased both in efficiency and number; while Edward VI. mustered daily 100 archers, with as many halberdiers, none of whom Elizabeth thought it necessary to reduce. Nevertheless, even 300 body guards (and to no more did this force amount) cannot with any propriety be treated as a standing army. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the corps to which

we allude continues to flourish in its original costume, and almost with its original weapons; though the title of beef-eaters may be better known to the frequenters of the royal menagerie and the armoury in the Tower.*

James I. brought with him into England neither infantry nor cavalry. His guards, afterwards received into the British service as the 1st or Royal Regiment of Scots, went to France; where, till the year 1661, they continued earning a splendid reputation for gallantry in the field, and good conduct in quarters. Even Charles I. had no forces, except such as were required by the disturbed state of Ireland, till the breaking out of the grand rebellion; and then he rallied round him only those soldiers of the ancient array of the kingdom which were actuated by a sense of loyalty and veneration for old establishments. In like manner, the parliament leaned for support upon the trained bands of London, and upon such corps as money or a mistaken principle of patriotism induced to rally round their standard. There were no regular troops, properly so called, on either side. A long and arduous contest converted, it is true, a militia originally raw into veterans, and furnished scope for the display of considerable military talent among the officers; but it was not till the king had suffered, till rebellion had triumphed, to be in its turn ground under the yoke of an usurper, that a standing army became one of the establishments of this kingdom. Cromwell knew too well the value of his disciplined comrades, to deprive them of their arms at the desire of the people. He kept on foot, during the whole of his protectorate, an army both numerous and efficient for the times; and the consequence was, that he reigned with a degree of power more absolute than had been possessed by any monarch since the days of the conquest.

The first measure of Charles II., after his restoration,

* The band of gentlemen pensioners, composing at first a corps of cavalry, was instituted by Henry VIII to act as a body-guard to himself, and a nursery in which officers for his army and governors for his castles, might be trained.

was to disband almost all the troops which Cromwell had kept on foot. About 5000 only, employed chiefly in garrison duty, were retained; the remainder, with the full concurrence of parliament, being discharged. Among the corps which were not dissolved, either then or at a subsequent period, may be enumerated the Coldstream regiment of guards. It had been raised about ten years previously, at Coldstream, on the borders of Scotland, from which circumstance it derived its name; and being commanded by general Monk, it was continued in the service out of gratitude to its colonel. The Coldstream regiment of foot guards dates its first formation from the year 1660. Two other regiments were then added, of which one, called the first regiment, was given to John lord Wentworth; while the other, or third regiment, claims as its original commander the earl of Linlithgow. In addition to these household troops, the infantry of Charles II. consisted of the 1st, or Royal Scots; which, though entered upon the English establishment so early as 1633, was not brought over from France till the restoration; the 2d, or Queen's, raised in 1661, and commanded by the celebrated lord Peterborough; the 3d, or Old Buffs, so called because their accoutrements were made of buffalo leather, and embodied in 1665; and the 4th, or King's Own, raised in 1680. These regiments have all been engaged in more or less of active warfare, from their first existence down to the campaign of Waterloo. With the exception of the Buffs, the facings have always been blue; but the former corps, as if to make amends for this defect, possesses the exclusive privilege of beating its drums through the city of London. Whence this distinction arose is not perfectly known; but the prevalent opinion is, that the regiment claims it because it was originally recruited from among the trained bands of the city.

Among the cavalry corps in the British service, the two regiments of Life Guards, with the Horse Guards Blue, stand first upon the list in point of seniority.

The Life Guards were raised by Charles II., one regiment in 1661, the other somewhat later; and their ranks were long filled up with gentlemen, cavaliers of family and distinction, who themselves or their fathers had fought in the civil wars. Both corps enjoyed, under such circumstances, numerous privileges, such as receiving superior pay, clothing, horses, and quarters. They were treated, moreover, in all respects, as the *Gardes-du-corps* were treated at the court of France; and, as generally happens, the regiments long retained these privileges after they had ceased to be composed of the class of men for whose sake they were granted. It was only in the year 1788, indeed, that a new system was introduced; yet even then something was conceded to them, of which their orderly and good conduct proved them not unworthy. Their pay was made better than that of other corps, and their officers were permitted to object to a trial, except before a court-martial, composed of members taken from the household troops only. The Blues, again, called also the Oxford Blues, from the title of their first commander, Aubrey, earl of Oxford, were embodied in the year 1661. They were then, and have ever since continued to be noted for their gallantry in the field, as well as their sobriety in quarters; having distinguished themselves in every war, from those under Marlborough down to the recent contests under Wellington.

From the date of the restoration, the history of the British army becomes, in point of fact, the history of all the contests in which the British nation has since that period been engaged. Each successive reign, moreover, added something to its numbers and efficiency; and each successive war brought with it some striking improvement in the mode of drilling, arming, and moving the men. Thus we find James II. adding to his infantry force the 5th and 7th regiments of foot, both of them embodied in 1685, and both, but especially the latter, distinguished in every action in which they have had the good fortune to take a part. The 7th were, from

their original formation, called the Royal Fusileers; the Welsh Fusileers, or 23d, were likewise embodied in 1688. To the cavalry, again, the same monarch added the 1st, or King's Regiment of Dragoon Guards, 6th June, 1685; and the 2d, or Queen's Dragoon Guards, likewise in 1685; both of which, as their names denote, were trained to act indifferently on foot or on horseback, the men being armed with firelocks and bayonets, in addition to their swords and pistols. Thus the total establishment in 1684 amounted, including Guards, to 4000 men. But as James began to feel that his throne was not supported by the love of his people, he increased, year by year, the number, adding nothing to the real strength of his army; till, in 1688, there were of regular troops 20,000 in England, and in Ireland not less than 8000. All this, however, served not to arrest his fall. William came: the army, betrayed in part by its officers, forsook their prince, and the house of Stuart became again, and for ever, aliens and outcasts.

Jealous of the power which a standing army appeared to place in the hands of their new sovereign, the English parliament hastened to declare that the keeping up of such an establishment without the consent of their body, during a period of peace, was contrary to the laws of the realm. The army was henceforth supposed to be held together only from year to year, the commons voting funds for its maintenance periodically; and even these they prefaced by particularising both the number of men to be raised, and the code of laws and regulations by which they were to be governed. All oppressive and violent methods of swelling the ranks were, moreover, forbidden. Vagrants and rogues might, indeed, be condemned by magistrates to serve both in the army and navy; but impressments, at least for the former force, were prohibited, and the right of the king to claim the personal attendance of his subjects was taken away. Nevertheless, no permanent diminution in the numbers of the British army was ever afterwards effected. William's circumstances compelled him, during

the greater part of his reign, to increase rather than diminish the establishment of his predecessor; and the war of the succession, which lasted during the best portion of the reign of queen Anne, increased it still further. From that moment, though invariably diminished on the return of peace, it has invariably enlarged itself so soon as hostilities have recommenced. Each new war has seen us bringing larger and better armies into play; and each new peace has witnessed the keeping up of a more numerous as well as a more efficient standing force.

In proportion as the English army has thus assumed as it were a new consistency, numerous alterations have been introduced into the modes of arming, clothing, training, and keeping in order the different corps of which it is composed. His close and oppressive mail was gradually laid aside by the horseman, as tending little to protect him from the weapons which he was now required to face. Cuirasses lingered, it is true, for a time, as well as buff coats; but even these were at length abandoned, with a precipitation which has since been condemned.* In like manner, the distinction between the cavalryman and the dragoon ceased by degrees to be recognised. The latter, exchanging his long firelock for the carabine, seems to have been rarely employed on foot, except under very pressing circumstances, since Marlborough's time; indeed, the one class of troopers became at last so completely amalgamated with the other, that to both was indifferently applied the appellation of dragoons. Nevertheless, a new and a better distinction arose †; we began to divide our cavalry force into heavy and light, mounting a part upon fleet horses of high breeding, and keeping the other part to their original strong but active chargers. At the disbanding of the army in 1698, the

* We avow ourselves unfriendly to defensive armour of any kind. It does more mischief to the health of the men than any benefit conferred by it in action can compensate.

† We have written this sentence not without serious misgiving. In a cavalry line, which counts by tens of thousands, the distinctions between light and heavy, hussars and lancers, may be good; but with us, as all descriptions do exactly the same duty, all ought, perhaps, to be armed and mounted alike. But there is a fashion in equipping troops as well as in medicine.

cavalry consisted of the life guards, horse grenadier guards, horse, and dragoons: the same distinctions held good till 1746, when a regiment of light horse was raised in Nottingham, of which the colonelcy was given to the duke of Cumberland. The example thus set was not slow in being followed. In 1755 we find a light troop attached to each of the dragoon regiments. These being by and by withdrawn, were regimented by themselves; and, as they proved on many occasions exceedingly serviceable, their numbers were gradually increased. There was, indeed, a time, and that not very distant, when a fashion prevailed of holding all other cavalry in disrepute: too many of our fine troopers were, in consequence, mounted upon horses more fit for the race course than the field; and hence not a few of their steeds failed them at an hour when bone and muscle were more needed than sleek coats. But a better state of things has returned. The battle of Waterloo gave decisive proof that, however useful hussars and light dragoons may be in reconnoitring and outpost duty, it is the fine old English charger that carries all before him in the melée; and hence our heavy cavalry have of late more than regained in public estimation the place from which, through no fault of their own, they had fallen.

From Marlborough's time downwards, the English cavalry have executed all their movements in double ranks only. They have learned, too, to trust less to their firearms, and more to their swords, than their predecessors; while their manœuvres, as well as their manual exercise, have become year by year more simple, more judicious, and more useful. We have, indeed, at this moment, a greater variety in our cavalry than we ever had before: the cuirass and the lance have both been restored, the former to the household brigade, the latter to distinct regiments; and even our light cavalry are recognised by the distinguishing titles of hussars and light dragoons. But in all the essentials of marching, wheeling, and forming, as well as in the mode of using the sword, they are trained by one common standard.

We took occasion some time ago to observe, that for many years after the musket had superseded the bow in the equipment of the infantry of England, the pike held its place as an offensive weapon, invariably used, and very highly esteemed. A "Book of Exercise for the Foot," published by royal command in 1690, contains instructions for the pikeman, not less than for the musketeer; yet between that date and the year 1705, the pike ceased to be carried by the regular army. The bayonet was, in the interval, rendered what it has ever since been, one of the most formidable weapons ever invented; and all our infantry became from henceforth what their fathers would have termed musketeers. In place of the bandelier, cartouch boxes were now worn, every piece of defensive armour was laid aside, and regiments stood upon parade, more awkwardly clothed, doubtless, than they are at present, but in every essential particular nearly as they stand now. At the same time, the ancient manual and platoon exercise, together with the formation of lines ten deep, were set aside. Three ranks formed the weight of a line of infantry; these fired, the front ranks kneeling, the centre stooping, and the rear standing upright; and they followed, in all their evolutions, the system established by prince Maurice, and practised at the time by the Dutch infantry. The scarlet coat, which Cromwell had in part introduced, was likewise declared to be the uniform of the English army; and a rate of pay was established, sufficiently liberal at the era of the revolution, to support both men and officers in comfort. It is scarcely necessary to add, that regiments both of cavalry and infantry were placed under the same description of officers who exercise authority over them at this day; and that the machinery of commissaries and quarter-master-generals was converted into colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors, and adjutants.

The Dutch tactics, confessedly the most excellent of the day, were gradually exchanged for the system of Frederick the Great; an iron code, doubtless, in more senses of the word than one, but, on the whole, not inapplicable

to practical purposes. This long continued to form the ground-work of our military education, though, to say the truth, it was in many instances not very rigidly adhered to; indeed, the reign of George II., and the commencement of that of George III., are memorable for the absence of every thing like system or uniformity in the mode of drilling and exercising the British army. There were no books of regulations published by authority, nor any common plan promulgated of moving troops, till, by the command of the late duke of York, sir David Dundas published his eighteen manœuvres, taken in part from the Prussian, in part from the German, school. How long these were regarded as the perfection of field exercise, the present generation can scarcely have forgotten; yet there were individuals, even among those who obeyed them, that saw and justly estimated their absurdities. Let the name of sir John Moore never be omitted when we write and speak of improvements in the field exercise of the British infantry. That distinguished soldier, not unaware of the great importance of the subject, devoted no trivial portion of a short but glorious life to remodel the tactics of the army; and how far he succeeded, may be learned by all who will take the trouble to ascertain after what fashion the light corps of the British infantry were drilled. It is only necessary to add, that within these ten years a new book of instruction was compiled and published by the late adjutant-general sir Henry Torrens, in which, with the utmost respect for the memory of that officer, we must be permitted to assert, that all that is excellent was devised by sir John Moore, all that is absurd comes from a very different quarter.

While the cavalry and infantry were thus approaching to perfection, the ordnance departments of the British army, classing under that head its artillery and engineers, continued to be most unaccountably neglected, and, as a necessary consequence, in every respect very defective. Long after Vauban had introduced his new and admirable system of fortification, our army remained destitute

not only of scientific gunners and artificers, but of all means of producing such, except the great and perilous school of active service. It was not, indeed, till the beginning of the eighteenth century, that England could boast of a regiment of regular artillery at all; guns having been heretofore attached to particular battalions, and served by men taken too often at random from the ranks. The impetus once given, however, the ball rolled on with singular rapidity. The seminary at Woolwich was founded; young men, designed for the more scientific branches of the army, received there a regular education; numerous improvements were effected upon the implements of war; and a race both of gunners and engineers was produced, to which Europe can now offer no rivals. It is true that in the engineering department we were long and shamefully in the back ground; but for this, not our soldiers, but our governments, were to blame. Secure from foreign invasion by the superiority of their fleets, our rulers gave themselves little concern whether their armies were complete, or the reverse; and hence when we found ourselves suddenly called upon to undertake sieges, and construct fortifications, the proper materials for so doing were wanting. There was no deficiency of theoretical skill among our officers; all that could be learned from books our engineers knew: but they were without an intelligent body of men to execute their orders; and hence, like a watchmaker robbed of his tools, they were incapable of using the power which they actually possessed. It is a source of sincere congratulation to every man who values the honour and consequent prosperity of his country, to be aware that this defect has of late been remedied. Both our engineer and artillery departments are now upon a footing which supplies them with all things *necessary* for their operations; and whenever the time comes, as come it doubtless will, that they shall be again called upon to act, the blame must rest with the individuals themselves, if they support not the glory which already attaches to them.

We have said but little in this Introduction either of the pay of the British army, or of the code of regulations from time to time composed for the maintenance of discipline among its members. Not much is necessary in order to give of these matters an account as satisfactory as seems to be at all necessary. The pay both of officers and soldiers has varied at different periods in our history, from the scale given as adopted in the reign of William III. down to the present ratio. Generally speaking, it has been ample in all ranks; but there certainly were periods, between the reign of queen Anne, for example, and that of George III., when it needed some revision. Of this the reader will be fully aware, when he is informed that the pay of the army was not raised above its value at the former of these eras till some time after George III. had ascended the throne.

With respect again to the modes of enforcing discipline in our standing armies, we would willingly draw a veil over them, which no hand should be permitted to raise till it could be lifted on the system recently introduced. There is no gratification in describing such punishments as picketing, riding the wooden horse, flogging till the wretched criminal almost died under the lash, or any other of the barbarous inflictions which our English soldiers owed to the tyranny of their German masters. Far more satisfactory is it to learn that the wisdom and good feeling of later times have laboured to infuse among soldiers a sense of honour, which renders 100 lashes more painful to the prisoner now than 1000 were to his precursor in crime. May the humane, yet politic, system be persevered in! Let no mistaken sensibility ever induce the legislature to deprive military tribunals of the power to award corporal punishment: that must, while human nature continues as it is, hang constantly over the heads of men from whom so much is necessarily expected as from soldiers; but the more keenly the edge of honour is tempered, the better will it serve its purpose among a class to whom reputation is, or ought to be, far dearer than life. It is this, and this

alone, which will render our army an object of admiration to all ranks of citizens; and not till it becomes so, will its ranks be filled up by the description of recruits whom every officer of sense would desire to have under his command.

There are but two circumstances, in addition to those already noticed, to which we consider it necessary to allude in this Introduction; namely, the establishment of that meritorious corps, the royal regiment of marines, and the re-organisation of the militia of the kingdom. With respect to the former force, it dates its origin in its present form from the year 1755; though long prior to that era there flourished several regiments whose special duty it was to serve as soldiers on board of ship. In 1684, the 3d, or Old Buffs, were thus disposed of; and in the beginning of queen Anne's reign six corps were raised for the purpose of discharging those duties which are now so ably executed by the marines: these were called, indeed, marine regiments; their number was increased in 1748 to ten, and in 1749 they were disbanded. An attempt was then made to furnish the navy with soldiers by drafts taken from battalions of the line; but a short experience proved that this practice led to the worst results, both as it affected the soldier and the sailor. The consequence was, that in 1755 the royal regiment of marines was once more embodied, never in all human probability again to be erased from the list of the British military forces.

Of the origin and history of the militia as at present recognised, a few words will suffice to convey a sufficiently accurate knowledge. Feudal tenures being abolished by act of parliament on the restoration of Charles II., the establishment of a national militia was voted, by which vote housekeepers and other substantial persons were bound to find men and horses, arms, ammunition, and pay, each according to the amount of his real or personal estate. Of the force thus raised, the king was declared to have the sole command; and he was authorised to appoint a lord lieutenant for every county,

under whose orders, or the orders of his deputy, the militia could at any moment be embodied. As had been the case in former times, days and seasons for training and exercise were especially appointed, from which no man, under a heavy penalty, was permitted to absent himself; and for a while it would appear that regulations, in themselves neither impolitic nor vexatious, were obeyed with tolerable punctuality. But as generation succeeded generation, and wealth, with its accompanying luxury, increased among us, "housekeepers and men of substance" grew weary of any kind of military service; while the expense and inconvenience accruing to government, from the necessity of paying the subject for his attendance, led to the gradual abolition of the practice altogether. The citizens of London alone adhered at last to the manners of their forefathers, by mustering from time to time, in accordance with an obsolete act; in every other town throughout the kingdom, the very memory of such musters was blotted out. In 1756, however, when the dread of an invasion was at its height, the idea of organising an efficient militia was revived. Being highly applauded by men in power, and meeting the approbation of the people, the project was in due time realised, and the foundation laid of that system which proved during the late war so efficient, and of which the elements happily still remain. By this each county was required to furnish a certain number of men, to be drawn by ballot, and provided with arms and clothing by the king. The lords lieutenant received authority to nominate the officers of these county regiments, subject to certain restrictions; the design of which was to throw as much of power as possible into the hands of men having a large stake in the welfare of their country. In like manner, when, during the late war, the threats of the enemy became more and more audacious, corps of volunteers enrolled themselves in all directions, which gradually merged in a still more efficient force, the supplemental or local militia of the kingdom. Like the original militia corps, the regiments of local militia were recruited by ballot.

They were not, however, liable to be marched, except in some case of emergency, beyond the limits of their respective counties; and they were kept, as the phrase went, upon permanent duty at the utmost twenty-eight days in the year. Then, again, we had, and continue to have, our regiments of yeomanry cavalry, the flower of our agricultural population, well mounted, well armed, and qualified, both from physical and moral causes, to preserve internal peace, not less than to resist foreign invasion. The late war likewise produced sea fencibles, companies of volunteer artillery, and other armed associations; in a word, the spirit of our forefathers seemed to have arisen among us, for almost every man fit to be in arms was a soldier. Happily, the state of Europe has not of late required such a display of military force at our hands. How long this order of things may last, the wisest will hardly pretend to foretell; but he must be a very short-sighted politician, who sees not that the best means of guarding against aggression or insult is to hold ourselves at all moments ready to repel it.

"The greatest curse that can befall a nation," said an illustrious writer of the last century, "is the loss of its military spirit." Hoping that our feeble labours may not prove wholly useless, in contributing to avert from our country this heavy misfortune, we proceed to narrate the histories of some of the most illustrious soldiers whom England at various periods, and under various circumstances, has produced.

SIR WALTER MANNY;

BEING A SPECIMEN OF THE MILITARY COMMANDER DURING THE CHIVALROUS AGE.

Among the many noble and illustrious names recorded in the pages of our early chroniclers, there are few which hold a more conspicuous station than that of sir Wantelet or Walter de Manny. Though a foreigner by birth as well as by lineage, his early adoption of England as a country fully entitles him to be classed with the chivalry of Britain, while his eminent services and gallant exploits render him no unfavourable specimen of the military worthies with whom he was contemporary.

The family of Manny had long been distinguished for loyalty and integrity, for wisdom in the senate and valour in the field. Their estates do not appear to have been extensive, yet we find them spoken of as lords of Manny; and hence their rank may be assumed to have been more elevated than that of knighthood. They were subjects of the earl of Hainault, by whom they were highly esteemed, and on all occasions of peril implicitly trusted; and they are represented as uniformly fulfilling the charges imposed upon them with the fidelity of true knights and the integrity of good subjects. Like other warriors of their day, they sought renown wherever it was to be earned by hard blows. At tournaments, or other martial games likewise, no matter where celebrated, a Manny was usually to be found; and it rarely happened that he failed to bear away the prize of gallant bearing and skill in the use of his weapons. As it was to the love of glory hereditary in his house that England was in some degree indebted for the honour of enrolling sir Walter de Manny among her warriors, it may not be

amiss if we explain the circumstances which, remotely at least, led to his emigration.

The father of sir Walter seems to have been one of the most accomplished knights of the age in which he lived. He tilted at almost every court in Europe, bearing down all before him, till at last the hardiest and most expert cavaliers shunned his encounter. It chanced on one occasion, when the subject of this memoir was an infant, that the bishop of Cambray, a Gascon, of the family of Merpoix, gave a grand tournament at his episcopal city. Upwards of 500 of the bravest knights, from France, Germany, and the Low Countries, attended; and among the rest came the lord of Manny, eager to add to his renown. There was a very powerful Gascon, a near relative of the bishop, who singled out Manny as an adversary, and engaged him with a degree of ferocity not often exhibited at such encounters. Manny defended himself with his usual address; and the Gascon knight was so roughly handled that being carried insensible out of the lists, he shortly afterwards died. No blame could in justice be attached to the successful combatant; nevertheless, both the bishop and others of the fallen warrior's friends openly vowed revenge; and Manny was, in consequence, glad to withdraw secretly from Cambray, and return home. He passed two years at his own castle unmolested, at the end of which period it was announced to him that the bishop would seal his pardon, on condition that he performed a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. Manny gladly closed with the proposition; he performed the pilgrimage, offered the customary gifts, and returning in fancied security, delayed at La Réole, a town which Charles of Valois had recently taken from the English. As he was passing one night to his lodgings, after feasting with earl Charles, he was set upon by a band of assassins, and slain. No one knew by whom the foul deed was perpetrated, though general suspicion fell upon the relatives of the Gascon knight; and hence, as the supposed murderers were powerful, and their adherents numerous,

little notice was taken of the transaction. The body was buried in a small chapel without the walls of the city, and the affair ceased to be mentioned.

When the death of his brave subject was communicated to William earl of Hainault, he considered himself bound to take under his own guardianship orphan of the deceased. Walter was in consequence removed to court, where he received the education usually bestowed upon the children of men of the highest rank. He was trained to ride, to shoot with the long and cross bow, to heave the bar, to run at the ring, and to perform all other exploits which men were expected to perform who looked to advancement in the noble profession of arms. In other respects, likewise, he seems to have been very liberally instructed. He composed and sang his own love-songs to the guitar and lute, then in fashion; he danced, as knights and squires were expected to dance, with grace and elegance; and he carved at the board with a degree of facility which excited the admiration both of warriors and dames. In a word, he became, as he approached to manhood, one of the most accomplished, as he was universally admitted to be one of the most agreeable, of the earl's immediate attendants.

The young lord of Manny was thus circumstanced, when Isabella of England, accompanied by her son, arrived at Valenciennes, to solicit the aid of the earl of Hainault against her husband, Edward II. The prince of Wales being nearly of the same age, and delighting in the same amusements in which Walter de Manny excelled, a strong attachment sprang up between them; nor was the sentiment of affection thus early excited, ever afterwards blotted out. It is true that Walter de Manny did not accompany his royal friend in the expedition which John of Hainault led, with perfect success, to Bristol. He was not yet of sufficient age to carry arms; and his patron would not consent to risk him in an enterprise of which the issue was exceedingly doubtful. But when events had assumed a decisive turn,—

when Edward II. was deposed, and his son raised to the throne by the title of Edward III.,—no farther opposition was made to his wishes. He accompanied the lady Philippa, earl William's daughter, to London, in the quality of page; and on her union with the king of England, he became at once an inmate of the palace. From this moment Walter de Manny may be said to have virtually abjured his native land. He is occasionally classed, indeed, by Froissart and Holinshed, among the knights of Hainault engaged in different enterprises; but these were all undertaken in the cause of England, and in obedience to the English monarch's commands. Besides, his home was henceforth in England, where, as the reward of his services, and by the favour of the prince, he gradually acquired large possessions.

We have no detailed account of the manner in which Manny passed his time during the two years which immediately succeeded his arrival in London. We find him, indeed, in 1329, one of the brilliant throng which accompanied Edward to Amiens, that they might witness the act of homage performed by the English to the French monarch; nor is this honour to be esteemed light, seeing that it was shared with such men as the earls of Derby and Warwick, the lords Percy and Mowbray. But, except in this particular instance, no memorial remains of any remarkable service or exploit performed by Manny prior to the renewal of war with Scotland. It is fair, therefore, to conclude that the tenor of his existence resembled that of royal pages in general; in other words, that his hours were divided between administering to the amusements of his patrons, and the indulgence of his own humour. When at Windsor, or some other of the palaces in the country, he probably formed one of every hunting and hawking party; when at the Savoy, or Whitehall, he doubtless made his skill in minstrelsy subservient to the purposes of the court. But a life of indolence, far less of effeminacy and luxury, was not in accordance with the bent of Manny's disposition. To him, not less than to the other restless and ambitious spirits of the age, war held out the highest promises of

immediate gratification and ultimate advancement; and hence the rumour of an approaching rupture, no matter with what power, was received with unmixed satisfaction. Nor did any great while elapse ere expectation gave place to certainty.

The death of Robert Bruce, and the minority of his son David, together with resentment at the infraction of the truce of which the Scots had, a few years before, been guilty, led Edward, a prince of equal ambition and talent, to meditate the renewal of his claim of superiority over the sister kingdom. While he hesitated whether to aim at once at the annexation of Scotland to the English realm, or to content himself with obtaining from the king of the Scots an acknowledgment of feudal dependency, Edward Baliol, the grandson of the first competitor of the name, suddenly landed at Kinghorn, gained a great victory at Duplin Moor, caused himself to be proclaimed at Perth and afterwards crowned at Scone. With this successful adventurer Edward immediately concluded a treaty, by which, besides stipulating to put him in possession of Berwick upon Tweed, Baliol agreed to hold his crown as a fief from that of England. But the ink was scarcely dry with which he had signed away the independence of his country, ere the usurper was, in his turn, surprised and defeated. He fled to England, where he was well received; while the Scots, infuriated by the countenance thus given to a public enemy, passed the border in force, and ravaged the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. Edward hastened to avenge the insult thus put upon him. After protesting against a line of conduct which absolved him from all engagements previously contracted, Edward avowed his intention of utterly subduing Scotland; and, sending forward Baliol to invest the town of Berwick, he summoned all his northern barons, with the mass of the chivalry of the land, to assemble, as in duty bound, at Newcastle upon Tyne. The army drew together early in May; and, long before the month had expired, it was encamped under the walls of Berwick.

Two brave Scotsmen, the lord Marr and sir Alexander Seaton, commanded at this time within the beleaguered city. They had already sustained the attacks of Baliol for the space of two months, and they now presented the same determined front to the approaches of Edward, though backed by all his northern chivalry. It was to no purpose that he bombarded the place with catapults and other formidable engines, bringing against it, at the same time, his sows, belfries, and other munitions of war. The garrison either crushed his engines, or boldly stopped up the breaches, by bringing a rampart of spears to bear where the masonry had given way; while they harassed him with continual sallies, which put the bravery of his knights and men at arms conspicuously to the test. Foremost among all who signalised themselves on such occasions was the king's favourite, Walter de Manny. He seemed to live but in his saddle; for there was not a foray nor a sortie attempted which he was not at hand to intercept; whilst in directing the machines, and cheering on the workmen, he was pre-eminently conspicuous. At last a general assault was hazarded, during which, though the English were eventually repulsed, the town was set on fire. It was then that the governors, conscious that they had more than saved their own honour, proposed to capitulate, provided, within a certain time, they were not relieved; an offer which Edwardwas but too happy to accept. An armistice was accordingly agreed upon, and both sides lay quiet, the one hoping to receive supplies, against the approach of which the other kept vigilant watch.

Scotland was at this time governed, in the name of its infant monarch (for David Bruce was only fifteen years of age), by the Earl of Marr, who made every exertion to raise the siege of a place, of the permanent possession of which his countrymen were particularly covetous. He passed the Tweed in force, and offered battle to Edward, who had strongly entrenched himself around that town; but the English king, too wise to risk the loss of advantages already gained, kept within his lines, and declined the combat. Marr succeeded in

throwing a few knights, with a supply of provisions, into Berwick; after which he penetrated into Northumberland, and laid siege to the castle of Bamborough, where queen Philippa had established herself. Even this step, however, failed of diverting the sagacious Edward from his purpose. He remained before Berwick; and the governors pleading, at the expiration of the truce, that they had received relief, he renewed his attacks upon it with redoubled vigour. Once more was Manny in his element. He charged the barricades daily; he sought every opportunity of encountering the Scottish cavaliers hand to hand, and he never once failed of coming off from such combats with the praise of hardy enterprise and gallant performance.

The Scots had given hostages for the performance of their first stipulation, and one of these Edward, on the refusal of the garrison to surrender, hanged under the walls. The relatives of the survivors became alarmed, and insisted upon a new treaty, by which the town was declared to be untenable, unless effectually relieved within three days. With the full consent of Edward, a messenger was despatched to the Scottish camp before Bamborough; and, as the English had anticipated, lord Marr instantly put his army in motion. Edward drew up his troops, according to the tactics of the times, upon the brow of a considerable eminence called Halidon Hill. He ranged his archers so as that they could command the whole of a swampy plain, across which the Scots must needs march to the attack; and he stationed his men at arms in dense masses, that they might charge with effect so soon as the enemy should have struggled through the morass. Unfortunately for themselves, the impetuosity of the Scots gave to these judicious dispositions their full value. They had marched from early dawn, their horses were wearied, and their men fatigued; yet, determined at all hazards to save Berwick, they rushed into action. The consequence was, that they were mowed down by hundreds as they struggled through the swamp, while such as gained the

base of the hill were trampled under foot by the barbed steeds of the English knights, ere they could form or well draw breath. A total discomfiture of the Scottish army ensued; and Berwick, as a matter of course, immediately opened its gates.

It is not necessary to describe at length the various operations to which this great victory led the way. Let it suffice to state, that Edward overran the whole of the country, made himself master of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton; caused Baliol again to be crowned as his vassal and representative; and at the same time annexed to England the whole of the provinces lying to the east of a line drawn from Dumfries to Linlithgow. Having accomplished these objects, and compelled David Bruce, with his young consort, to seek an asylum in France, the English king disbanded his army, and returned to London. But he did not carry along with him his friend and favourite Walter de Manny. The valour of the young Hainaulter had attracted the notice of all the warriors attached to the royal household; it was rewarded, as it deserved, by the advancement of so brave a squire to the honour of knighthood; and the new knight was left with sir William Montacute, governor of Roxburgh, to repress every movement of the rebellious Scots. This he did with a hardihood and perseverance never surpassed and rarely equalled, till a wider field for the display of his military talents opening, he solicited, and readily obtained, permission to enter upon it.

It was mentioned a short time ago that Walter de Manny attended king Edward on his journey to Amiens, when the latter crossed the sea for the purpose of doing homage, as duke of Guienne, to Philip of France. In order to place in their true light the events arising out of this memorable expedition, it will be necessary to trench upon the province of the historian so far as to recapitulate the chief of certain circumstances with which sir Walter de Manny can be said to have been connected only by a very remote implication.

Philip IV. of France, surnamed the Fair, died in

1314, leaving three sons, Louis, Philip, and Charles; all of whom, in the short space of fourteen years, came successively to the throne, and all perished without male issue. At the decease of Charles IV., the youngest brother, it became necessary to seek for the true heir among the descendants of their predecessors; upon which two competitors appeared,—Edward of England, the grandson of Philip IV. by his daughter Isabella, and Philip of Valois, the grandson of Philip III. by his son Charles of Valois. It had been decided at the death of Louis, in 1316, that females were, by the fundamental law of the kingdom, excluded from the French throne; nevertheless, Edward was taught to contend, that though his mother's sex might be a disqualification as far as she was herself concerned, it could be no bar to the succession of her son; while Philip, on the contrary, insisted that a mother could not transmit to her issue any right of which she had never been in possession. This important cause was brought in due form before the twelve peers and barons of France. They decided that Edward had no claim. Philip mounted the throne, and the king of England was summoned to do homage to the new sovereign for his duchy of Guienne.

It was not to be expected that the jealousy excited by these rival claims should either speedily or easily subside; indeed, there were numerous causes of complaint on both sides, which kept those most deeply interested from desiring, far less from attempting, a conquest over angry feeling. Several fortresses in Guienne, of which Edward claimed the superiority, were kept in possession by Philip; while Edward, who, after much tergiversation, consented to do homage, did it in general terms, omitting the liege promises of faith and loyalty. Such was the ceremony to which, in 1329, Walter de Manny, among other illustrious persons, was witness; but in 1331 a partial adjustment of their differences occurred, Philip restoring to Edward the castles which he claimed, and Edward acknowledging, by a public instrument, that the homage which he paid

for Guienne ought to have been not general but liège. Other subjects of dispute were referred to arbitrators, and a confident hope was entertained that peace between the two countries would be preserved, when the opposite interest which each felt in the affairs of Scotland awakened their former jealousy, and hurried them into hostilities.

It had long been the policy of the French crown to support the Scottish kings against the superior power of England. When David was driven from his throne, Philip took him under his protection, gave him an asylum in his dominions, and repeatedly aided his partisans with money and ships. Edward beheld this conduct with displeasure, and laboured, but in vain, to detach the French monarch from the cause of the orphan. He suggested to him several intermarriages between their children; offered to pay him a considerable sum in return for the restoration of the fortresses; and even proposed to accompany him on a crusade, which he had been induced, either from piety or ostentation, to undertake. Every effort, however, to lull the suspicions of Philip failed. He adhered steadily to the cause of David, because he believed it to be closely connected with his own, and at last provoked his rival to hazard an appeal to arms, for the attainment of an object, of which the latter seems never to have entirely lost sight.

There is a popular tradition, and perhaps it is not entirely devoid of foundation, which asserts that Edward was mainly induced to turn his attention from Scotland to France by the arguments of a stranger and an outlaw, Robert of Artois. This man having been deprived, as he complained unjustly, of the inheritance of his pa- her, whose daughter Matilda, the mother of King Philip's wife, was by the aid of her son-in-law put in possession, fled to England, where he ceased not to urge upon Edward that his claim to the crown of France was valid, and that it would be maintained by a strong party in the coveted kingdom. For some time

it would appear that these suggestions produced no decisive results. Robert of Artois accompanied the English army to Berwick, and witnessed the campaign, which brought the most fertile provinces of Scotland under the immediate jurisdiction of the English crown; but it was not till the flight of David to France, and his cordial reception there, that Edward turned to him a ready ear. Then, however, personal animosity being added to political emulation, induced him to view the assertions of the outlaw in a novel light, and no great while elapsed after his return to his own capital, ere he began to look around him for the means of realising his gigantic but favourite imagination.

It required less of foresight than belonged to the character of Edward, to perceive that no attack by England upon France, could, unless supported by powerful continental alliances, lead to any positive result. His first measure, accordingly, was to send messengers to such of the lesser potentates as he believed to be most jealous of their powerful neighbour, and best disposed to seek his humiliation. William count of Hainault, the dukes of Gueldres and Brabant, the marquis of Juliers, the archbishop of Cologne, the lord of Fauquemont, and other subordinate princes, were all solicited to support him in the approaching war; and they were all persuaded, partly by fair speeches, partly by the most convincing of all arguments, bribes, to enter, at least avowedly, into his wishes. One power, however, remained to be won over, more important under existing circumstances than any other, namely, Flanders, of which the condition at the moment was, considering the temper of the times, not a little remarkable.

Whether the earl of Flanders had conducted himself amiss, or whether something of the turbulent spirit which adheres to them now, belonged to the Flemings of the fourteenth century, we are not prepared to say; but certain it is that, a few years prior to the occurrences just described, they had expelled their legitimate sovereign, and placed themselves under the control of a

plebeian. Jacob van Artaveldt, a brewer of Ghent, ruled them with a rod of iron; having risen to his bad eminence by the customary ladder of popular meetings and democratic factions. This man Edward, one of the proudest of the European princes, condescended to court; and so well was the part played, that his ambassadors, after having been splendidly feasted, were dismissed with firm assurances that through Flanders the king of England might march whenever he chose to take possession of his lawful realm of France. It chanced, however, that of the partisans of the exiled earl, a considerable body, consisting chiefly of knights and their adherents, had taken possession of the island of Cadsant, where they made preparations to intercept the English envoys in their voyage down the Scheldt. The English were happily apprised of the circumstance in time, and embarking at Dordrecht, escaped the threatened danger; nevertheless the navigation of the Scheldt was interrupted, and it became necessary, as a step preparatory to all others, that it should be again thrown open. Edward having recalled sir Walter de Manny from his wardship on the Scottish border, determined to employ him, together with the earl of Derby, on this important service; and the "good knight," as he is emphatically termed, accepted the commission with the gratitude which became him on such an occasion.

The force placed under the command of these two gallant chiefs consisted of 600 men at arms, and 2000 archers. They embarked at London late in the autumn of 1337, and, dropping down in a couple of tides as far as Margate, hoisted sail, and stood for the opposite coast. In the mean while the garrison of Cadsant, commanded by sir Guy of Flanders*, sir Dautres de Halluyn, sir John de Rhodes, sir Giles L'Estreif, and other brave warriors, made every preparation to receive them. Their numbers amounted in all to full 5000 combatants, of whom 16 were belted knights, and 1000 men at arms; while the dikes and sand-banks which

* A bastard brother of the exiled earl.

cover the island offered a strong position, of which they failed not to take advantage. Night and day their sentinels were posted along the strand; and when at last, a little before noon, information was given that a fleet was in the offing, no doubt could exist either as to its freight or object. Nor were the Flemings deceived: the squadron was indeed English; the ships bore at their mastheads the banners of Derby and Manny; and having a pleasant breeze in their favour, they approached the coast with rapidity, yet in admirable order. The Flemings lined the dykes, formed upon the sands, and gave their banners to the wind, while their cross-bow men drew their strings to the check, and their men at arms stood each beside his barb, ready to mount at a moment's notice.

As the squadron bore down, the vessels in which the two commanders were embarked, either by accident or design, approached one another. "Sir Walter de Manny," exclaimed lord Derby, "what think ye, shall we assail these Flemings, or delay?" "As the wind and tide are in our favour," replied Manny, "it becomes us not to lose them. In the name of God and St. George, let us run close on shore." "In the name of God and St. George, be it so," rejoined the earl, and the seamen, taking up the word, repeated it with loud shouts from ship to ship. Instantly the trumpets sounded. The knights buckled on their harness, the archers strung their bows, and the vessels being ranged in a line, with these formidable combatants in the prows, the whole pushed forward. "There was no parley between them," says Froissart; "for the English were as eager to attack as the Flemings were eager to defend themselves;" and hence bolts from cross-bows and cloth-yard shafts flew as thick as hail. But no artillery could stand before the skill of our English archers. Having "been ordered to draw their bows stiff and strong, and to set up their shouts," they soon drove the advanced people from their stations, and opened a means of disembarkation for the

barons and knights, who were not slow in taking advantage of it.

The English chivalry had scarcely reached the shore when they were furiously assailed by the Flemish men at arms. "Many gallant deeds of prowess were done; for the Flemings fought valiantly, and the English attacked them in all the spirit of chivalry." Foremost in the *mêlée* was the good earl of Derby, who dealt around him many deadly blows with his battle-axe; till, being separated from his attendants, he was charged by three knights at once and borne to the earth. One of his enemies' had already alighted, and was brandishing over him the misericorde, when Manny rode fiercely to the spot, shouting aloud as he approached, "Lancaster for the earl of Derby!" With one thrust of his lance he transfixed the caitiff who had bestridden the fallen earl, and then grappling with a second enemy, he hurled him from his saddle. This knight's charger he reined in, and alighting with all speed, raised Derby from the ground, and placed him upon its back. Side by side these two brave knights now drove onwards, and their followers, fired by their example, soon put the Flemings to the rout.

The victory was complete. There fell of the Flemings not fewer than 3000 men, among whom were included sir Dautres Halluyn, sir John of Rhodes, and more than twenty-six other knights and squires. Sir Guy of Flanders with many others were taken prisoners; and the town, being carried by assault, was reduced to ashes. Thus was the pledge given by lord Derby and sir Walter Manny amply redeemed; and the troops, after loading their vessels with plunder, returned safely to England.

Well pleased with this issue to his first transmarine adventure, Edward devoted the whole of the winter to the preparation of means for a serious opening of the campaign. He was encouraged by the assurances of Jacob van Artaveldt that Flanders universally rejoiced in his success; nor was he in any respect scrupulous as

to the sources from which funds could be derived for the equipment of his fleet and army. No longer trusting to the feudal array, the kings of England had learned to exact subsidies from their vassals; and these, upon one pretext or another, they contrived sometimes to swell to an amount proportionably not less heavy than the taxation of modern times. Edward pushed the matter on the present occasion to an extremity. After collecting his subsidies, he had recourse to tallages and forced loans; he pawned his jewels and the crown itself; he seized for his present use the tin and wool of the year; yet he contrived to make the war popular, at least with his parliament. With the funds thus accumulated he raised as fine an army as ever in the days of chivalry quitted the English shores; and on the 8th of July, 1338, led it to the coast. The troops were immediately embarked; and on the 15th, after a pleasant voyage, during which no adventure worthy of record occurred, they reached Antwerp.

As soon as he had distributed his followers in their quarters, Edward summoned to his presence the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the lord John of Hainault, with the other princes on whose support he chiefly relied. They arrived between Whitsuntide and St. John's day; and when the king had sufficiently entertained them, he demanded to be informed how soon they would be in a condition to fulfil their engagements. "The lords of Germany had a long consultation," says the chronicler, "and finally made their reply. 'Dear sir, when we came hither, it was more for the pleasure of seeing you, than for any thing else. We are not yet in a condition to give a positive answer to your demand; but we will return home, and come again to you whenever you please, and give you so full an answer that the matter shall not remain with us.'" They followed up this declaration by departing each man to his own capital, and Edward was left to waste his own and his barons' resources in Antwerp and the country round.

The middle of August came ere another congress could be held, when it was resolved that even then there were many impediments in the way of the commencement of hostilities. "Dear sir," said the Germans again, "we do not see any cause for us to challenge the king of France, all things considered, unless you can procure the consent of the emperor, and that he will command us to do so on his account, which may easily be done; for there is an ordinance of a very old date, sealed, that no king of France should take and keep possession of any thing that belongs to the empire. Now, king Philip has gotten possession of the castles of Crèvecœur in Cambresis, and of Arleux in Artois, as well as the city of Cambray, for which the emperor has good ground to challenge him through us, if you will have the goodness to obtain it from him, in order to save our honour." Edward gladly accepted the proposition thus made. He despatched ambassadors to the emperor; received from him the title of vicar of the empire; and in his new capacity, with full authority to command the attendance of the princes, formally declared war against Philip.

By this time the season was far spent; but the princes having met on All-hallows' day, and done homage to Edward at Arques quitted him with assurances that they would immediately assemble their vassals. Week after week elapsed, however, and still they came not; till, in the end, all idea of commencing operations prior to the return of spring was laid aside. The king of England, therefore, after spending some time in Antwerp, hastened back to his own country, where he assembled large reinforcements both of men and materials with which he again crossed the Channel as soon as the navigation could be safely undertaken. He established his head-quarters at Mechlin, whither he summoned the allies to his standard; but it was the middle of September ere they arrived. Nevertheless they now sent their challenges boldly to king Philip; and Ed-

ward made ready, at the head of their combined forces, to invest Cambray.

These challenges had been despatched about a week, a sufficient space for their reception, when sir Walter Manny collected fifty lances on whom he knew that he could depend, and withdrew secretly and in the dead of the night from his quarters. He rode with his companions night and day through Brabant, reached Hainault, and came to the wood of Blaton; where, halting to refresh the horses, he for the first time made his company aware of the design which they had been selected to accomplish. "My brave companions," said he, "I made a promise in England before the nobles and ladies, that I should be the first knight that should enter France and take some castle or strong town, and perform some gallant deed of arms. Now, what say ye, Montaigne is noways distant, shall we ride on and surprise it, for it is a part of the kingdom of France?" A proposal so daring could not but meet with the approval of men who regarded personal danger as the highest species of excitement, and battle as the most agreeable of sports. They cheerfully consented to follow him; and having re-girthed their horses and tightened their armour, they resumed their march in close order.

The gallant band emerged from the wood of Blaton soon after dark; and, pressing on without a check, arrived at Montaigne a little before sunrise. They found the wicket open; upon which sir Walter instantly alighted, passed through into the streets, and marched with his pennon displayed towards the castle. Here better precautions had been taken, for the gate was shut; and while twenty-four of the English knights endeavoured with their battle-axes to cut it down, the warder on the tower blew his horn, and shouted, "Treason!" Nothing now remained but to make a handsome retreat; for the garrison ran to arms; and sir Walter with his choice band would have been speedily overpowered by numbers. Several houses next to the castle

were accordingly set on fire; and the English, withdrawing amid the smoke and confusion, escaped without the loss of a man.

It appeared to sir Walter, that though the letter of his promise had been fulfilled, something was still wanting to accomplish its spirit; and he therefore proposed to his companions that they should not return as they came, but diverge by Condé and Valenciennes in search of adventures. All readily consented, and the road to Condé was followed. Having left it behind, and passed Valenciennes on the right, they quartered that night in the convent of Avesnes; they then pushed upon Bouchain, the governor of which, mistaking them for the advanced guard of a great army, opened his gates; they next passed the river, and drawing cautiously towards Cambray, made ready to avail themselves of any opening which might be presented. There was a strong fortress, called the castle of l'Evêque, one of the residences of the bishop, at no great distance from the city, the possession of which promised to afford great facilities to the approaches of a besieging army. Manny determined, at all hazards, to attempt its reduction; and so well were his arrangements made, that he came upon it when the gates were open, and a large part of the garrison abroad. The English rushed into the courtyard, cut down all that attempted resistance, and made themselves masters of the place before the governor had been well informed that danger was at hand. This was the last of sir Walter's exploits on the present occasion. Leaving his cousin, sir Giles, with sixteen knights, to maintain the important conquest, he returned to Mechlin, and reported the issues of his incursion to the king.

No great while elapsed after the return of sir Walter and his companions, ere the king of England put his army in motion; and, followed by most of the allies, took the road to Cambray. A short halt was made near Valenciennes; which Edward, accompanied by twelve knights only, sir Walter Manny being of the number, entered. The young earl of Hainault (for the earl

William was dead) met him here, and led him with all state to the great hall. As the royal company ascended the steps, the bishop of Lincoln, in a loud tone of voice, summoned the bishop of Cambray to surrender. "William d'Aussonne," said he, "bishop of Cambray, I admonish you, as proctor on the part of the king of England, vicar of the emperor of Rome, that you consent to open the gates of the city of Cambray; and if otherwise you do, you will forfeit your lands, and we will enter by force." "No answer was made," continues Froissart, "for the bishop of Cambray was not present;" upon which the bishop of Lincoln continued, "Earl of Hainault, we admonish you, on the part of the emperor of Rome, that you come and assist the king of England, his vicar, before the city of Cambray, with all your forces." The earl made answer and said, "Most willingly." Whereupon they entered the hall, and conducted the king to his chamber: shortly after, the supper was served up, which was sumptuous and splendid.

Cambray was in due time invested, and the assault pushed on all sides with the utmost resolution and valour. It fell to the lot of sir Walter Manny to conduct the approaches near Robert's Gate. This he repeatedly stormed; but, though both he and his followers performed prodigies of valour, they were, on each occasion, repulsed. A like result attended every other attack, till, at last, the winter coming on, and the approach of Philip at the head of 100,000 men being reported, it was determined at a council of war to raise the siege. Instead, however, of falling back into Brabant, it was suggested by the English lords that an inroad into France itself would redound to the honour of the king and his followers; and though the earl of Hainault avowed his determination not to pass the French frontier, the suggestion was readily obeyed. Forty thousand men, independently of the troops of the Hainaulters, who refused to serve, except under the banner of their lord, accordingly passed the Scheldt; and the king, fixing his quarters at the abbey of Mount

St. Martin, his chiefs scoured the country round, after the military fashion of the times.

While this state of things lasted, it chanced, on one occasion, that sir John of Hainault, who still followed the standard of England, proposed to sir Walter Manny and other brave knights an expedition against the town of Hennecourt. Great riches were understood to be deposited there; for the country people from all the districts round had flocked thither with their goods; and hence the knights anticipated not merely an increase of renown, but a valuable accession of wealth. Taking with them 500 combatants, among whom was sir Henry of Flanders, (of whose capture by Manny, in the island of Cadsant, mention has been made, and who had recently sworn allegiance to Edward,) they set out early in the morning, and arrived before the place just as the bells of the convent were ringing for noon-day prayers. There was an abbot at that time in Hennecourt, "of great courage and understanding," who had already put the place in a posture of defence, by drawing numerous barriers of wood-work across the streets, and surrounding the whole town with a palisade. Large piles of stones, pots of quicklime, with other dangerous missiles, were collected in heaps; and armed men were stationed to defend each entrance. The abbot was about to commence the service of the church, when one of the wardens shouted aloud that a host drew nigh, and that, from the red cross displayed upon the pennons of its leaders, he could not doubt that it was English. The brave ecclesiastic instantly cast aside his robes; he seized a strong sword — flew to the post of danger — commanded the gate to be thrown open, and, though defensively armed only with a jerkin of buff leather, waited to receive the assailants. These rushed on furiously, and many hard blows were struck; yet such was the courage of the town's people, that not a single barrier was forced.

When the combat was at the fiercest, sir Henry of Flanders, eager to distinguish himself, closed upon the burly abbot. The churchman seized the knight's sword,

and drew him towards the barricade with such violence, that his arm was dragged through the grating. The knight could not, in honour, relinquish his sword, but held it tight, while the abbot, pulling lustily, forced his very shoulder within the opening. Many of sir Henry's friends advanced to the rescue, and the unfortunate knight had almost been torn to pieces, so stoutly was his hold kept by the abbot, and so strenuously did those without exert themselves to force it. But a sense of honour yielded at last to excruciating bodily pain. Bruised, battered, with every joint on the rack, sir Henry gave up his sword to the churchman, which was long afterwards preserved as a trophy in the common hall of Hennecourt.

The attack had lasted from noon to vespers, without any advantage to the English, of whom *one* was slain, and many more wounded, and roughly handled. The jaded warriors then drew off and, not without a sense of profound mortification, returned to the camp.

At an early hour next morning, Edward caused his tents to be struck; and, penetrating into the Vermandois, approached St. Quentin. His hobilers and light archers rode forward to reconnoitre the place; but they found so gallant an array of men at arms drawn up in front of the barrier, that they came back with a report that it could not be taken except by regular siege. For such an operation, however, neither the season of the year nor his own circumstances were propitious, and Edward accordingly passed it by, taking the road to Tierache. He ravaged the whole of the country through which he passed; while Philip, who had come as far as St. Quentin in pursuit, sent heralds to challenge him and his host to mortal combat. It would have accorded little with the temper of the times had such a message met with any other than a favourable reception. The heralds were treated with all due honour, and the Friday following, that is, two days after the receipt of the challenge, was appointed as the day of mortal strife.

At the specified time, the hostile armies drew up in

sight of one another, in the great plain of Vironfosse. Edward arranged his troops, 40,000 of all arms, in three principal masses, the baggage being secured in a wood in the rear. He gave the command of one to the duke of Gueldres, of another to the duke of Brabant, and reserved the immediate guidance of the third to himself. Attached to his own person were sir Robert d'Artois, sir Reginald Cobham, and sir Walter Manny; while the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, with a lesser corps, prepared to support such points as might seem in the *mêlée* to be hard pressed. Edward then mounted a palfrey; and, accompanied by the three knights just named, rode along the line, "right sweetly entreating the lords and their companions that they would aid him to preserve his honour, which they all promised." Meanwhile, the French in very superior numbers, made their dispositions in like manner, till the face of the country appeared to be covered with "banners and pennons, barbed steeds, knights, and esquires, richly accoutred:" still no signal was made on either part to advance. The troops gazing at one another, wondered what was to follow, when suddenly there arose about noon a violent shouting in the French lines, which caused the English to grasp their weapons, and anticipate an attack. The tumult was occasioned, however, by a circumstance much less terrible than the issuing of orders to press on. "A hare had been started in the plain; which, running within the French ranks, drew to herself the undivided attention of knight and squire, noble and plebeian; and with the outcry raised in hunting her down ended this great military spectacle."

It is related by Froissart, that Philip of France, when preparing to engage, received a letter from the king of Sicily, which informed him that the stars had prognosticated a total defeat should he ever risk an action where the king of England commanded in person. How far the anecdote is to be depended upon, we presume not to say; but that no battle was fought is indisputable. The armies broke up, as if by mutual

consent, that night. Philip withdrew to St. Omer, where he dismissed his chivalry; while Edward, disbanding his foreigners at Ghent, returned, taking Manny along with him to London.

Expensive and profitless as his campaigns had hitherto been, Edward was far from desiring peace. He had consented, indeed, during his brief sojourn at Ghent, at the entreaty of Artaveldt, to quarter the arms of France with those of England; thus casting aside, as it were, the scabbard, and declaring war even to extermination. Great preparations were therefore made against the return of another summer. The parliament granted supplies more liberally than on any previous occasion; mercenaries were hired from all quarters, and orders of impressment sent into every county; while the nobility and tenants in capite were invited, by promises of ample reward, to lead their retainers well armed after the king's standard. By these means a brilliant army was brought together, and in June, 1341, the whole embarking on the Thames, stood across channel with a light breeze. Philip of France had not, in the mean while, been neglectful of the means of defence. Having collected and equipped a powerful fleet, composed partly of Normans, partly of Genevese, he instructed his admirals to sweep the channel, and to intercept the passage of the English at every risk,—a command which the tardiness of one party, not less than the activity of the other, rendered useless. Edward arrived safely at Orewell ere his enemies were in a condition to quit Sluys, where for some time back they had lain.

It was the opinion of the king's council, that having escaped a danger so imminent, he ought at once to turn his attention to the prosecution of the war by land. Edward, however, entertained views widely different. The coast of Hampshire had already suffered from frequent attacks by the enemy's navy; and now that an opportunity offered of attempting its destruction, he resolved not to neglect it. His bravest warriors, among whom Manny was always ranked, cheerfully volunteered

to attend him; and on the 22d, the English fleet again put to sea in quest of their rivals. Next evening a forest of masts was seen across a neck of land not far from Blankenburg; and as no doubt could exist touching the cause of the spectacle, immediate preparations were made to engage. A fierce encounter followed. The enemy, mooring themselves in three lines, ran chains across from ship to ship, and, with turrets lashed to their masts, stood to receive the shock: the English bore down; the archers plying their arrows from the bows, and the men at arms prepared to board so soon as an opening should be made. Manny was the first to spring on the deck of the Christopher, a huge vessel which the Normans had captured a short time previously in the channel; and his example being boldly followed by other knights and companions, the deck was speedily cleared. Now, then, an impression being fairly effected, the English hastened with reckless courage to improve it. The enemy's towers, dragged by strong hooks from their fastenings, fell into the sea with all who manned them; the archers swept the decks with a shower of arrows, each of which brought death upon its wing, while the knights bore their banners onwards from stem to stern. "The battle was very murderous and horrible;" but it ended in the total defeat of the Normans, of whom vast multitudes were slain, and a still greater number taken.

This memorable battle occurred on the 24th of June; and the troops, landing next day, marched in high spirits to Ghent. Here the king, surrounded by his nobles and knights, performed a pilgrimage to the chapel of our Lady of Ardenbourg; after which he received numerous deputations from the towns and cities around, while his agents exerted themselves in bringing the troops of the allies into the field. These were at last assembled, and towards the latter end of July upwards of 200,000 men marched in two bodies to undertake the sieges of Tournay and St. Omer.

Sir Walter Manny was, on this occasion, attached to the division commanded by Edward in person; and

served, as he always did, with distinguished gallantry before Tournay. The utmost exertions of the English failed in making any impression upon a place well fortified according to the manner of the times, and defended by a garrison of 30,000 men. Numerous assaults were, however, made, and every engine brought to bear against the ramparts; but the former were invariably repulsed, and the latter broken or captured. In the mean while, Philip assembled a large army, with which he moved to the support of the beleaguered city. He pitched his camp at the distance of three leagues from that of Edward, who sent a herald to defy him; but neither this, nor the eagerness of his chivalry to prove their prowess, could induce him to risk a battle. It was now, when the resources of the English monarch began, as before, to suffer exhaustion, that Jane of Hainault, sister to the king of France, and mother to the queen of England, quitted the convent in which, since the death of her husband, she had resided, for the praiseworthy purpose of negotiating a peace between her connections. She is represented as appealing on her knees to both princes in behalf of their suffering subjects; and she so far gained her end, that a truce for nine months was entered into preparatory to a more lasting treaty. In consequence of this arrangement the siege of Tournay was raised, and Edward not long afterwards returned with a slender retinue to London.

The miserable results of so many and such gigantic exertions had begun to render even Edward weary of the war,—a sentiment to which the revocation of his authority as vicar of the empire gave additional force,—when events befell, which, opening out to him new and, as he believed, better prospects, led him once more to resume his military purposes. John III. duke of Britany had three brothers; Guy, Peter, and John earl of Montford. Guy and Peter died before him; but Guy left a daughter, Jane, who, as the duke himself had no children, was regarded by her uncle and the states as heir apparent to the duchy. This princess was

married to Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France; and, on the death of duke John, which occurred in the spring of 1341, the states naturally expected that Charles, by virtue of his alliance, would assume the sovereignty over them. The earl of Montford, however, asserted that his claim, being that of a brother, was superior to the claim of Jane, who was only niece to the deceased prince; and, as he was a brave and active knight, he succeeded, partly by force, partly by intrigue, in making himself master of the principal towns and castles in the duchy. An appeal was of course made to the king of France, who both justly and naturally decided in favour of his own relative; and Montford, refusing to submit to the award, was declared a traitor and a rebel.

Thus situated, John of Montford adopted the only plan which appeared to hold out any prospect to himself of efficient support. He passed over to England, did homage to Edward, and was received by him as the rightful duke of Britany: this done, he returned to his own country, into which Charles of Blois had already burst with an overwhelming force. Montford was driven from the field and shut up in the city of Nantes, which, either by the treachery or cowardice of its garrison, was given up to Charles; and Montford, being taken prisoner, was sent without delay to Paris. The spirit of his party was, however, kept alive by the heroism of Montford's wife: that lady, "who possessed the courage of a man and the heart of a lion," no sooner heard of her husband's misfortune, than she took her infant son in her arms, and, presenting him to the inhabitants and troops in Rennes, thus addressed them: — "Oh! gentlemen, be not cast down by what we have suffered through the loss of my lord; he was but one man: look at my little child here; if it please God, he shall be his restorer, and shall do you much service: I have plenty of wealth, which I will distribute among you, and will seek out for such a leader as will give you proper confidence."

"When the countess had, by these means," continues the chronicler, "encouraged her friends and soldiers at Rennes, she visited all the other towns and fortresses, taking her young son John with her. She addressed and encouraged them in the same manner as she had done at Rennes. She strengthened her garrisons with men and provisions, paid handsomely for every thing, and gave largely wherever she thought it would have a good effect; she then went to Hennebon, near the sea, where she and her son remained all that winter, frequently visiting her garrisons, which she encouraged and paid liberally."

The return of spring brought with it fresh dangers: for Charles over-ran the whole of the open country; and, after reducing almost all the other fortresses, sat down before Hennebon itself. The countess had not neglected to seek aid from England; and Edward, well disposed to thwart the designs of Philip, determined to support her, even at the risk of a renewal of the war with France. A small but select band of men-at-arms and archers was accordingly placed under the guidance of sir Walter Manny; and "the good knight" set out, without a minute's delay, for Southampton, the point of embarkation. Unfortunately, however, the winds were adverse, and full thirty days elapsed ere the mariners could be prevailed upon to put to sea; but at last the anchors were raised, and the squadron began to beat across towards the mouth of the Blavet.

Meanwhile Hennebon was sore pressed, and the countess with all her eloquence found great difficulty in keeping the garrison to their posts. A negotiation had, indeed, been opened, and the terms of surrender specified, while a large body of French troops were advancing to secure a postern gate, when a fleet was seen in the offing. "I behold the succours which I have so long expected," exclaimed the lady, who, from one of the upper windows in a tower, had for some time gazed upon the sea; "the English, the English are at hand: no more talk of submission; and eternal dishonour be

the lot of him who betrays a woman to her enemies." The countess was not deceived: the fleet in question did contain Manny and his troops; and the whole were landed, amid the cheers of the populace, ere the sun went down.

No pains were spared by this heroic woman to evince her gratitude to her deliverers. The best houses in the place were set apart for the accommodation of the English knights; every hall and chamber in each was hung with tapestry: and a sumptuous banquet was prepared at the lodging of the countess herself, to which the strangers, immediately on their disembarkation, were invited. There was much feasting and rejoicing all that night and the following day: nevertheless the town was by no means free from annoyance; for the enemy, so soon as they ascertained that the succours had arrived, renewed their attacks with the utmost fury. They had, within a few days, erected under the walls a huge sow, under cover of which their workmen laboured incessantly to effect a breach. A catapult, likewise, of more than ordinary dimensions, stood near, from which enormous masses of stone were cast into the town, against which neither the roofs nor walls of the houses offered any shelter. Sir Walter was at dinner in the countess's mansion, when one of these blocks falling on a roof hard by produced no little confusion among the more timid of the guests. He looked from the window; and, ascertaining the cause of the tumult, exclaimed to those beside him, that "it were a gallant deed to destroy this machine, and that he desired to do so." The other knights swore, as their wont was, that they would not desert him; and the whole, rising from table, departed to their respective lodgings and armed themselves. Three hundred of the most expert archers were selected to share in the honour of the enterprise, and the whole sallied without any tumult from a postern gate. In five minutes, the enemy who guarded the catapult were routed or destroyed; the machine was overturned and cut to pieces; while fire was cast under the sow, which

soon set it in a blaze. Then rushing among the tents and huts, the men at arms laid lustily about them till the whole camp was in confusion.

Having thus effected their purpose, the knights and archers marched back towards the town, and had already arrived near the outer barricade, when sir Walter, looking behind, saw the enemy mounted, and pursuing at the full speed of their horses. "May I never be embraced by my mistress and dear friend," said he, "if I enter castle or fortress before I have unhorsed one of these gallopers!" Instantly he wheeled round his barb, and laid his lance in rest; and his companions, taking fire at the example, ranged themselves under his banner. The foremost of the pursuers were, to use the language of Froissart, "spitted," and "many legs were made to kick the air," but the loss was not entirely on the side of the French. Several of the English were likewise overthrown; and reinforcements arriving continually from the camp, the conflict waxed both fierce and furious. At length the English were forced to give ground. They fell back, however, fighting valiantly as far as the edge of the ditch, where the knights stood firm till the archers and their own attendants had passed in safety. It was well for them at this critical moment that the quivers of the yeomen were not empty. These, ranging themselves along the opposite side of the moat, plied the assailants with a shower of arrows, against which neither corselet nor helm held out, till the knights, delivered from the throng that pressed them, were enabled to pass the drawbridge. They were received with hearty congratulations both by the townspeople and soldiers, while the countess "came down from the castle to meet them, and with a most cheerful countenance kissed sir Walter Manny and all his companions, one after another, like a noble and valiant dame.'

The consequence of this sortie was, that on the following morning no enemy's tents were to be seen. Prince Louis of Spain, who commanded the corps of Charles's army employed in this siege, had at once abandoned all

hope of success, and was already in full march to join Charles himself, then employed before the castle of Arrai. Here it was agreed that he should proceed against Dinant, a wealthy town defended only by a palisade and a ditch; and he directed his steps, in consequence, along the coast. There was in his route a strong castle called Conquet, which protected a seaport not far from Brest. This prince Louis assaulted, and, after an obstinate defence, succeeded in carrying. He then pursued his journey to Dinant; which, being quite incapable of any lengthened defence, opened its gates. A similar issue attended his attack of Guerrande, which, like Conquet, fell by assault; and the most shocking atrocities were, by the exasperated soldiery, committed within its walls. Here prince Louis embarked his army in a number of vessels which he found in the harbour; and, passing round into Lower Britany, landed at Quimperle, from whence he devastated the surrounding country with fire and sword.

Highly incensed at the ravages committed by Louis, and anxious to avenge if too late to avert them, sir Walter Manny put himself at the head of all the disposable force of Hennebon, and marched in the direction which the plunderers were stated to have taken. He arrived at Conquet before the garrison left by Louis found time to repair the breach which themselves had made; and, attacking it sword in hand, soon made good an entrance. He would have then continued his progress to Guerrande, had not information reached him of the voyage of his enemy to Quimperle; but being more desirous of chastising the Spaniard than of recovering places which must soon fall of their own accord, he adopted a bolder and, as the event proved, a more judicious policy. Having obtained the sanction of the countess, and of the leading men about her court, he placed his men at arms, with 3000 archers, on board of ship, and set sail for the very harbour where the fleet of Louis lay.

Manny found the enemy's shipping but slenderly

guarded, for the troops were abroad upon one of their plundering expeditions; he immediately attacked and made himself master of them all. They were filled with riches of every sort, collected from monasteries, towns, and castles: but there was no leisure at such a juncture either to divide or otherwise dispose of the booty. Three hundred archers were accordingly appointed to keep watch over them; while the remainder, of all arms, landing, set out in three divisions for the purpose of intercepting prince Louis. The prince was not slow in learning the evil fate which had befallen his fleet. He hurried back towards the coast; and falling in with one of sir Walter's columns, a fierce battle began, which had well nigh terminated in the defeat of the English. But the noise of the encounter being heard by the other two battalions, they hastened to the support of their friends, and falling upon Louis, disordered by his own exertions, they totally defeated him. Of 6000 men, the whole force commanded by the prince, scarce 300 made their way to the beach, and of these almost all were either killed or taken by the archers left in reserve.

Separated from his people, and grievously wounded, Louis considered himself very fortunate in gaining possession of a small bark that lay apart from the rest of the squadron: into it, attended by a very slender retinue, he threw himself; and putting instantly to sea, endeavoured, both by rowing and sailing, to escape he knew not whither. With the pertinacity of a bird of prey, Manny followed him. The vessels were all day long within sight of each other; and when Louis at last made the port of Redon, thither likewise Manny steered. Even now, however, the chase was not abandoned. Louis had just quitted the town when Manny entered; and it was only by preventing his pursuer in the seizure of the best horses in the place that the unfortunate Spaniard escaped at all.

Wearied with past exertions, the English rested that night at Redon, and on the morrow spread their sails

with the design of returning to Hennebon; but the wind was adverse. As the ships were not victualled nor otherwise equipped for a long voyage, Manny landed his men on the open beach about three leagues from Dinant; and marching up the country, seized as many horses as he could find "Some were mounted," it appears, "without saddles or bridles;" nevertheless the whole pressed on till they came to a strong fortress called Roche Perion. "Gentlemen," said Manny, addressing himself to his companions, "I should like much to attack this strong castle, all fatigued as I am, if I have any to assist me." The knights replied—"Go on, sir, boldly; we will follow you until death:" whereupon they all set forward to the assault. But the walls were high and solid, the garrison was brave, and the defence so spirited, that, after losing some of his people, sir Walter was fain to draw off.

Among the number of those wounded were two distinguished knights; sir John Botcler of Warrington, and sir Matthew Trelawney. These their squires had carried to a field somewhat apart from the scene of conflict; when suddenly there came upon them a body of forty men at arms, led on by the brother of him who commanded in Roche Perion. This man, René de Maulin by name, made the whole of the wounded prisoners, and drove them before him, with little courtesy or humanity, to his own tower of Faouet. Sir Walter was informed of the calamity just as he had begun to despair of surmounting the obstacles immediately opposed to him; and eager, if possible, to rescue his friends from captivity, he ordered the assault to be relinquished. His utmost haste failed, however, to hinder the escape of the enemy into Faouet; the gates were already closed, and no alternative remained except to abandon his friends or carry the tower by storm. No true knight ever dreamed of calculating the difficulty of any enterprise when the freedom, and perhaps the life, of a companion was at stake; and, as Manny was too strongly embued with the spirit of his order not to hazard all in such a cause, in-

structions were issued to attack the place; and they were cheerfully, though not very efficiently, obeyed.

In the mean time Gerard de Maulin, the governor of Roche Perion, aware of his brother's danger, mounted his fleetest steed, and rode with all haste to Dinant. The intelligence which he brought roused the garrison there to immediate exertion; and 6000 men of all arms were speedily in array for the relief of Faouet. Manny heard of the movement; and not choosing to risk the safety of his band by exposing it to be attacked on one side by the people of Dinant, on the other by prince Charles from Arrai, he promptly, though with extreme reluctance, retreated. But he passed not at once to Hennebon without performing any deed of arms worthy of his renown. The castle of Guy la Forêt lay on his line of march; a place of some strength, and well provided. This he furiously assailed; and his pioneers, with their pickaxes, making a breach in the wall, Manny forced his way through sword in hand. That night he rested his people in the fortress which they had won, and on the following day arrived at Hennebon.

Notwithstanding the brilliancy of these successes, the forces under the command of sir Walter Manny proved so inferior in point of numbers to those of Charles of Blois, that no progress was made towards the ultimate deliverance of Britany. Charles, on the contrary, by little and little succeeded in obtaining an absolute sovereignty over all the open country. Hennebon, indeed, with a few other castles, alone held out; and Edward was importuned by frequent messages to send further succours ere it should be too late. He was not inattentive to these entreaties: but long before the English were in a condition to embark, Carhaix, one of the most important towns in the duchy, fell; and Hennebon was again invested. The attack on this occasion was conducted with still more fury than before. Not fewer than sixteen catapults of the largest size sent showers of stones on the walls; while strenuous efforts were made

to fill up the ditches, and bring the battering rams to the foot of the rampart. Nevertheless the garrison, animated by the example and exhortations of Manny, displayed even more than their wonted courage; and many deeds were performed of great hardihood on both sides.

Notice has been already taken of the peculiar circumstances under which sir John Boteler and sir Matthew Trelawney were made prisoners. Their capture gave extreme satisfaction to the chiefs of Charles's army; for they were brave knights, and had repeatedly distinguished themselves: but by none was the event hailed with more savage delight than by prince Louis of Spain. He had scarcely recovered from his hurts when he repaired to Charles's tent, and, according to the custom of the times, besought a boon. It was freely granted, no enquiry having been made as to the nature of the request about to be advanced; but Charles could not conceal his disgust when the ferocious Spaniard demanded that the two Englishmen might be handed over to him, that he might do with them what he pleased. "This is the boon I ask," continued he: "for they have discomfited, pursued, and wounded me; they have also slain the lord Alphonso, my nephew, and I have no other way to be revenged of them, than to have them beheaded in sight of their friends who are shut up in Hennebon." Charles was silent for some moments; but mastering his feelings, at length said,—"I will certainly give you the prisoners since you have asked for them; but you will be very cruel and much to blame if you put to death two such valiant men; and our enemies will have an equal right to do the same to any of our friends whom they may capture: for we are not assured of aught that may happen to any one of us, even from day to day. I therefore entreat, dear sir and sweet cousin, that you would be better advised." Charles's entreaties were, however, disregarded; the Spaniard threatened to withdraw entirely from his service were the boon refused; and Charles, hampered by

his own rash promise, reluctantly sent for the prisoners, whom he placed under a guard in his tent.

Manny was not without spies in the enemy's camp, from whom he received prompt intelligence of the dire fate that hung over the heads of his two friends. He called his principal knights around him; and after a good deal of consultation said, "Gentlemen, it would do us great honour if we could rescue these knights. If we adventure it and fail, king Edward will still hold himself obliged to us; and all wise men who may hear of it in time to come will thank us, and say that we did our duty. I propose, therefore, if it be agreeable to you, that we arm immediately and form ourselves into two divisions: one shall set off as soon after dinner as possible by this gate, and draw up near the ditch to skirmish with and alarm the enemy, who, you may believe, will soon muster to their post; and if you please, you, sir Aumari de Clisson, shall have the command of it, and shall take with you 1000 good archers to make those that may come to you retreat back, and 300 men at arms. I will have with me 100 of my companions and 500 archers, and will sally out at the postern on the opposite side privately; and turning behind them, will fall upon their camp, which we shall find unguarded. I will take with me those that are acquainted with the road to lord Charles's tent, or where the two prisoners are, and we will make for that part of the camp. I can assure you, that I and my companions will do every thing in our power to bring back in safety these two knights, if it please God."

The proposal being highly approved, the knights and archers made all haste to carry it into effect. Sir Aumari marched boldly out by the great gate; and attacking the enemy's advanced posts, soon drew to himself the attention of lord Charles and his people. He even exceeded his instructions; for beating back the guard of the trenches, he penetrated into the enemy's lines, and fought long and fiercely among their tents and huts. In the midst of the confusion occasioned by

an assault so little anticipated, Manny stole from the postern; and taking a wide circuit, came, unobserved, upon the rear of the camp. Without uttering a shout or blowing a trumpet, the men at arms, led on by trusty guides, rode straight to lord Charles's tent, within which their friends lay, bound with ropes, and slightly guarded. The guards were at once cut down, and the knights, freed from their bonds, were placed upon spare horses which sir Walter had brought with him for the purpose. Not a moment was lost in effecting their retreat, by the route which they had followed when advancing; and they all returned uninjured to Hennebon.

Having delivered over their charges to the countess, who received them with tears of joy, Manny and his company rode forth to support their friends, now hotly engaged, and to great disadvantage, at the barriers. A desperate struggle ensued; till news of the escape of his prisoners being communicated to prince Louis, he drew off in disgust, and commanded his people to follow. It does not appear that many lives were lost on either side; indeed, we have elsewhere observed, that the numbers slain in battle, of men at arms, were for the most part very inconsiderable; nevertheless some prisoners were taken, with whom Charles marched back in triumph. He had learned, however, by this time, that Hennebon was too well fortified and defended to be reduced by any means within his reach; he therefore concluded a truce with the countess, and, dismissing the greater number of his followers, retired with a select train to Carhaix.

From this date, namely, November, 1342, up to the Easter following, there was peace between the contending factions in Britany; an occurrence of which the lady de Montford took advantage, by passing over into England, while Manny remained as her representative in Hennebon. She was well received by the English monarch, and a considerable army under lord Robert d'Artois was appointed to support her cause so soon as the expiration of the truce would permit. It is not ne-

cessary to describe either the mustering or embarkation of that force, nor to give any detail of the action which it sustained at sea against the combined fleets of Louis and sir Otho Doria. We content ourselves, therefore, with stating, that the battle proved indecisive—a heavy gale of wind arising ere victory declared for either side; and that lord Robert made good his landing near Vannes, and proceeded immediately to invest it. He was joined here by sir Walter Manny, who, preferring the post of danger to that of emolument, gave up the command at Hennebon to the lord of Cadoudal, and proceeded to the English camp with 100 men at arms and 200 archers.

Manny found lord Robert, if not positively overmatched, at all events far from sanguine as to the issue of the siege. There had been an assault that day, which, beginning early in the morning, lasted till late in the evening; yet no progress was made in forcing a barrier or gaining possession of any important post. Manny infused a bolder spirit into the councils of the chiefs, and gave new courage to the jaded soldiers. He recommended that a fresh attack should be made that night; and having persuaded lord Robert that the townspeople were all worn out with fatigue, that their guards would be remiss, and their watchmen asleep, he prevailed upon him to adopt the suggestion. The word was silently passed that the soldiers should refresh themselves with eating, but by no means disarm; and a little after midnight, the army was again formed in three columns.

Two of these battalia, under the respective orders of lord Robert and the earl of Salisbury, rushed forward with loud shouts. They lighted large fires, likewise, for the purpose of distracting the attention of those within, who, awaking suddenly from slumber, conceived that their own houses were in flames. Some hurried to the wall, others mounted the towers; the bravest only threw themselves on their horses, and so rode forth to meet the assailants; while by far the larger number ran

hither and thither, exclaiming that they were betrayed, and that the enemy were burning the town. In the mean while Manny, putting himself at the head of the the third division, moved silently towards a quarter where the least degree of tumult seemed to prevail. His men were provided with ladders, grappling hooks, and other implements used in scaling or tearing down a rampart, which they applied with such admirable dexterity, as to make good an entrance before any suspicion of danger was entertained. They then covered themselves with their shields, and advanced into the main street, shouting their favourite war cries, "Manny, Manny!"—"De Vere, De Vere!" and putting to the sword all who endeavoured to oppose their progress, soon gained the grand entrance. In a moment the drawbridge was lowered, the gates thrown open, and lord Robert with his people admitted, when Vannes once more submitted to acknowledge the lord of Montford as its sovereign.

As soon as this important conquest was achieved, Manny returned with his retinue to Hennebon; while lord Robert, retaining only a moderate garrison for the preservation of Vannes, sent the mass of his army to attempt the reduction of Rennes. It was, on more than one account, an unfortunate arrangement: for Rennes was too well provided to suffer any thing from a siege; while the enemy, smarting under their recent loss, and attributing it more to the absence of due care on the part of their friends than to superior valour in their foes, resolved to make a great effort for its recovery. With this view a strong force was brought together, which, coming suddenly upon Vannes, recovered it with less difficulty than had been experienced in its original reduction. Not that the garrison behaved either with cowardice or inattention: on the contrary, a stout resistance was offered; and Robert d'Artois, with the larger portion of his chiefs, were wounded in conducting it: but the inhabitants were disaffected; the English were not very conciliatory; and openings were made for the assailants,

of which they promptly availed themselves. Hence the place fell; and being supplied with stores to a large amount, as well as put under the command of a very distinguished warrior, it was justly esteemed secure against any attempt by the troops already in Britany.

Things were in this state when Edward, passing the sea, marched against Vannes with the flower both of the chivalry and yeomanry of England. He attacked it with great fury; yet was he continually baffled, till, wearied at last with the obstinacy of the defence, he drew off with a large portion of his army. While he marched in person, first against Rennes, and afterwards to Nantes, he left the conduct of the original siege to sir Walter Manny, who had again hurried from his government to take part in more active operations, and was again placed in a station of high responsibility. We should only repeat what has been said more than once already, were we to enter into any detailed account of his exertions on this occasion. Let it suffice to state, that he brought every stratagem and implement of war known in the attack of towns to bear; that he daily and hourly charged the barriers with his men at arms, engaging the bravest of the defendants hand to hand, and earning for himself an increase to his already high renown; but that neither his hardihood nor his skill prevailed in overpowering or deceiving the vigilance of his brave and active enemies. The following sketch of one of these skirmishes is given as a general specimen of all; and as the style of the original chronicler seems peculiarly fitted for the subject, we give it from Froissart himself: —

"During the time that the king of England was overrunning the country of Britany, his army that was besieging Vannes made every day some smart assaults upon one of the gates. All the most expert warriors of each side were attracted to that place, and many gallant deeds of arms were performed; for those of Vannes had opened the gate and posted themselves at the barriers, because they had noticed the banners of the earl of

Arundel, the earl of Warwick, the baron of Stafford, and sir Walter Manny, who appeared to them to adventure themselves too rashly. Upon which the lord of Clisson, sir Hervey du Leon, and some other knights, took more courage. The engagement was well supported on both sides, and lasted a considerable time; but finally the English were repulsed, and driven back from the barriers.

"The Breton knights, opening the barriers, pushed forwards sword in hand, leaving behind them six knights and a sufficient force to guard the town, and pursued the English, who fought well as they retreated. The conflict became stronger; for the English increased and were strengthened, which forced the Bretons to retire, but not so regularly as they had advanced. The struggle now was very hard; the Breton knights had much difficulty to return, and many were killed and wounded. When those at the barrier saw their people retreating, and driven back, they closed them, but so untimely, that the lord of Clisson was shut out, and also sir Hervey du Leon, who were both taken prisoners. On the other hand, on the part of the English, who had advanced too eagerly, was the baron of Stafford, who was enclosed between the barrier and the gate where the combat raged very fiercely. The lord Stafford was taken, and many of his people were made prisoners or slain. So the English returned to their quarters and the Bretons into the city of Vannes."

While the attack of Vannes was thus proceeding with much gallantry, but very indifferent success, Edward, after reducing Dinant, and other places of less importance, sat down, as has been already described, before Rennes. He was stoutly opposed by the garrison, and had made little or no progress, when the duke of Normandy advanced at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army to raise the siege. Edward, feeling that he was not a match for the power that now threatened him, made haste to call in his detachments on every side. Manny was instructed to leave Vannes to its fate;

and as the orders were peremptory, he broke up immediately on the receipt of them, and marched without delay to join his sovereign. After this junction had been formed, however, and another detachment employed in the siege of Nantes called in, the English army amounted only to two thousand five hundred men at arms, six thousand archers, and three thousand spearmen; whereas the French came up with full forty thousand, including combatants of all descriptions. Nevertheless, the inferiority in point of numbers was more than compensated by the skill of the king of England in choosing his position: "He planted his men so that the French could not attack him, except at a disadvantage;" and from the hour of the duke of Normandy's arrival, he husbanded his missiles and spared his people, by hazarding no further attacks upon the town.

It was now the depth of winter, and both men and horses were subjected to extreme privations. As often as foraging parties ventured abroad, moreover, from one of the camps, they were immediately attacked from the other, till in the end multitudes perished, either of absolute famine or of the diseases originating in scarcity. At such a moment the Pope humanely interfered, by proposing to mediate among the belligerents, and adjust their differences. He found a good deal of stubbornness as well with the English as with the French, yet he so far overcame it as to patch up a truce which both parties agreed to observe throughout the space of three years and eight months. Nevertheless, the feeling of mutual hostility was too deeply seated not to set all formal reconciliations at defiance. Edward returned, it is true, to England, taking Manny in his train, while the duke of Normandy retraced his steps within the French boundary; but these movements were hardly made ere grounds of fresh differences arose. Philip, who had stipulated to set John of Montfort at liberty refused, now that the English had crossed the sea, to adhere to his engagement, while at the same time he caused several of the chief nobles of Britany to be ar-

rested and put to death without even the show of trial. Conduct so base and so little in agreement with the high and punctilious honour of the age excited the utmost fury of Edward. Having with some difficulty mastered his anger, which had prompted him at first to commit reprisals, he appealed to his parliament for support, and large subsidies were again voted, in order that he might vindicate his outraged honour.

While the troops were assembling with which he designed to renew the war, Edward retired to Windsor, where "he founded a chapel in honour of St. George, and established canons to serve God, with a handsome endowment." The knightly order of the Garter was at the same time instituted; and the bravest cavaliers from all parts of Europe were invited to attend the festival. Into that honourable fraternity sir Walter Manny was admitted, though whether as an original brother, or by election at a later period, we have been unable to ascertain: but however this may be, we find his name in the list of those who were present at the brilliant entertainment given on the occasion; and hence it is fair to conclude that from the coveted distinction he was not long debarred. But a field of exertion more congenial to his enterprising disposition was already before him. In the spring of 1344, the war with France was renewed, and Manny, together with the earl of Derby, and many other brave knights, was sent over to conduct it in Gascony.

On the 6th of June, the expedition landed at Bayonne, whence, after a rest of eight days, they took the road to Bordeaux; Manny acting on the occasion, as indeed he continued to act throughout the campaign, in the high and responsible capacity of marshal. They were received by the city authorities with processions and bands of music, and the chiefs lodged in the most magnificent palaces; but they had not long occupied their pleasant quarters, when intelligence arrived that the enemy were assembling. A strong force of knights and men at arms were stated to be at Bergerac, a town

of some note situated on the Dordogne. Still stronger bands were collected elsewhere; and if permitted to unite, their very numbers, it was asserted, must bear down all opposition on the part of the English. Lord Derby, as general in chief, placed a select corps under the orders of Manny, whom he instructed to push forward for the purpose of reconnoitring Bergerac, while he himself, at the head of the main body, followed at the interval of a day's march.

At the distance of a short league from Bergerac stood the castle of Monteroullier, — a place of some consideration, and held by an English garrison. Here Manny, after having accomplished a recognisance as far as the enemy's barriers, rejoined lord Derby; and a council of war was held for the purpose of determining how it behoved them to act. It would appear that councils of war have in all ages and under every variety of system closely resembled one another, and that the spirit of chivalry itself was not sufficiently warm to thaw the ice of their extreme caution. No determination was therefore formed, and the chiefs sat down to dinner in perfect ignorance as to their future movements. But that which a formal consultation could not elucidate, a burst of knightly gallantry effected. "My lord," said sir Walter, as they sat at the repast, "if we were good knights and well armed, we might this night partake of the wines of these French lords who are in garrison at Bergerac." The earl answered, that it should not be his fault if they did not. When their companions heard this, they said — "Let us hasten to arm ourselves, for we will ride towards Bergerac." It was no sooner said than done; they were all armed and mounted in an instant.

A hurried march, performed during the heat of the day, brought them, before dusk, in sight of Bergerac, the garrison of which sallied boldly forth to meet them in the open country. A fierce contest ensued; but the English archers, as usual, threw the enemy's infantry into confusion, while their men at arms, encumbered

by a crowd of fugitives, remained perfectly immovable. At this juncture the English cavalry dashed forward, committing fearful havoc among the naked footmen, nor could the French knights offer to them any effectual resistance. A disorderly retreat accordingly took place as far as the suburbs, where, under cover of the houses, the French rallied, and the battle was renewed with great bravery. Manny cut down with his own hand the lord of Merepoix, one of the best knights in Gascony; his people imitated the example, and unhorsed and beat to the earth many iron-clad warriors: yet was the slaughter comparatively trifling, though multitudes received blows and bruises, and several wounds of a more serious nature were inflicted. It was now that the count de Lisle, despairing of further resistance, commanded his people to evacuate the town, and retreat to the citadel. They effected this movement in good order, though not without the loss of some prisoners; while the English, worn out with the fatigues of the morning, drew back to the suburb.

Great was the boasting, and loud and joyous the revelry, in the quarters of the English that night; for the town was filled with provisions and wine, and both knights and squires helped themselves liberally to the good things which their valour had purchased. At early dawn, however, another sight was seen, when the battalia being mustered, and the archers planted under shelter of the walls and houses near, the assault of the castle began. The contest continued, without any intermission, till noon; but the assailants "had not much success, for they found that there were within men at arms who defended themselves valiantly." Upon this the English withdrew; while Manny, with his usual promptitude, directed the attention of lord Derby to the weakest point in the fortress, where, towards the river, its defences consisted of a wooden palisade only. "Send to Bordeaux for boats," observed sir Walter; "and may my spurs be struck off, and my name erased from the roll of knighthood, if we fail to make good our en-

trance." Derby adopted the suggestion; the flotilla came; and in two days Bergerac was their own.

We will not pause to describe the series of petty operations in which, after the capture of this place, Manny was engaged. Town after town, and castle after castle, submitted or fell by assault, till almost the whole of Gascony acknowledged obedience to the English domination. But there is one adventure which, because of the light thrown by it on the military tactics of the times, it were unjust to pass by: we allude to the attack and relief of Auberoche, a town of some consequence in the department of Perigord.

Auberoche had been besieged and taken by lord Derby and sir Walter Manny, and a garrison placed in it under the command of sir Frank van Halle, sir Alain de Finefroide, and sir John Lendal. The two chiefs had then distributed their troops over the face of the country, and were themselves returned to Bordeaux, when the count de Lisle gathered an army together, and advanced to recover it. He came upon the garrison so unexpectedly, that every avenue was at once shut up; and little care having been used to store the place with provisions, a scarcity may be said to have been felt by those within from the first commencement of the blockade. It was not, however, to famine alone, efficient though in such cases it is, that the count de Lisle trusted for the subjugation of Auberoche. Four enormous engines accompanied his army, which threw stones of such size and weight, that not a roof within the place could resist them; and the garrison were in consequence shut up within the vaulted chambers that ran under ground in every feudal castle. Under such circumstances, many fruitless attempts were made by the governor to convey intelligence of the plight in which he stood to lord Derby; till at last a servant, tempted by the offer of a large bribe, undertook to make his way unseen through the very heart of the besiegers' camp. He was let down by ropes from the rampart after nightfall, having letters descriptive of the existing state of things sewed up in his garments. He passed

the advanced guards unnoticed, for he spoke the Gascon language, and named one of the lords of the army as his master; but, unfortunately missing his way in the dark, he was arrested amid the tents. Being searched, the letters were found on him, and his punishment was horrible. The Gascons thrust him into one of the machines, and shot him back, with his credentials tied about his neck, into the place.

The garrison of Auberoche now gave themselves up for lost; but matters were not yet so desperate as they imagined. Spies had already informed Derby of their condition; and, with Manny in his train, he was already in full march to their relief. Sending orders to lord Pembroke, who commanded a detached corps at Bergerac, to join them with as little delay as possible, the two chiefs drew together a small but choice band of men at arms, and pushing rapidly upon Libourne, were there reinforced by the battalions of lord Stafford and sir Stephen Tombey. No halt was, however, made: on the contrary, they rode all night, in order to reach a place of concealment in the immediate vicinity of the beleagured fortress, and they were so fortunate as to arrive at a wood only two leagues distant from it ere the sun rose. Here they halted, in the anxious hope that lord Pembroke would soon come up; and, tying their horses to the trees, sat down to refresh themselves, of which they stood sorely in need.

The total force thus brought into the vicinity of De Lisle's army amounted only to 300 men at arms, and 600 hobeler archers. De Lisle himself was known to be at the head of 10,000 men. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that, brave as the chiefs were, they experienced some irresolution as to the course which it would be proper to pursue. Once more was Manny the originator of a movement not less bold than judicious. "Gentlemen," said he, "it were a shame to us, were our friends to perish and we so near them. Let us mount our horses, skirt this wood, and advance towards the enemy's camp; we will fall upon them unexpectedly,

just as they are sat down to supper, and, with St. George to aid, they shall be discomfited." The proposal was greeted with the hearty assent of all present. Each knight "went to his horse, re-girthed him, and tightened his armour;" after which, commanding their servants, pages, and baggage to remain where they were, the whole set forward.

By following the counsels of Manny, and keeping well under cover of the wood, this gallant band escaped the observation of the enemy, till they had arrived at the skirt of the wide plain on which the Gascon tents were erected. Further concealment was impossible; so they stuck spurs into their chargers, and shouting "Derby! Derby for ever!" placed their lances in rest, and galloped forward. Never was surprise more complete. The French were slaughtered and trodden down before they could tell from which side danger threatened; De Lisle himself was wounded, and made prisoner in his tent; while, of his lords and knights, some were slain when hastily buckling on their accoutrements, and a still larger number taken. The garrison, hearing the cry of battle, rushed out to support their friends; and a victory, not less important than had yet been won in that quarter, crowned the efforts of Manny and his handful of heroes.

Having accomplished this important service, Derby entered once more upon a course of conquest and glory, in which he was accompanied, and not a little aided, by sir Walter Manny. Among other places reduced during this brilliant campaign, was Reole, the city within which the father of our hero perished; and sir Walter had the satisfaction to remove the body from its nameless grave to a tomb more appropriate at Valenciennes. The citadel, indeed, held out with great obstinacy for the space of eleven weeks; but at the end of that period it also opened its gates; after which the army took the road to Monpoullant, which submitted on the first summons. Castle Moron was next assailed. It was well fortified, occupied by a numerous garrison, and set all the efforts

of the English at defiance, till stratagem was employed to effect an end which open force had failed to attain. Manny, having posted himself with a select band amid some broken ground not far from the drawbridge, lay concealed, while Derby pretended hastily to retreat. The garrison hurried out, in order to harass the English in their flight; when the ambuscade, suddenly rising, rushed upon the bridge, and secured both it and the gate before the alarm was taken. The town immediately fell, and was given up to plunder. No other fortress throughout the circle within which Derby saw fit to confine himself offered any serious resistance; and hence the two chiefs, after subduing Villefranche, Miraumont, Damaza, and Angoulême, returned by way of Blayes, which was also taken, to Bordeaux.

The winter of 1344-5 was spent by Manny amid the gaieties of the viceregal court at Bordeaux. Tournaments and other martial games filled up this interval; but the return of spring brought with it fresh demands upon the courage and constancy of the English and their partisans. The duke of Normandy had been directed to assemble a large army, and to advance so soon as the weather would permit, for the recovery of all the places lost during the late campaign. He executed his orders with great promptitude; and passing onwards with the fury of a mountain stream, he soon wrested from the hands of the islanders not a few of their frontier castles. Miraumont was the first to yield to the storm; Villefranche was likewise taken, after a brave defence; and, finally, the town of Angoulême, and the important castle of Auguillon, were threatened. While he despatched other warriors to protect the first-named of these posts, Derby intrusted to sir Walter the defence of Auguillon; and such was the good knight's diligence, that, in the face of 100,000 men, he laid in a store of "meal," and threw himself, with 300 men at arms and a corps of archers, within the walls.

Having reduced Angoulême, the duke of Normandy moved with his prodigious army to the attack of Au-

guillon. He sat down before it in the month of May, and the siege lasted, without any interruption, till October. Day after day were assaults hazarded, which Manny with his brave garrison repulsed; while engines of the largest size threw showers of stones over the walls, towers were erected and embankments thrown up. At last it was determined by the besiegers to cross the river, and thus cut off all means of obtaining forage from those within. A bridge was in consequence constructed, at a great expense of labour; but, just as the troops began to traverse it, Manny, who had kept his design well concealed, let slip three heavy vessels, which, carried down by a strong current, fell upon the props and swept them away. Gallant exertions were made, it is true, to avert the calamity by the guards of the bridge, but they were driven from their posts by repeated discharges of arrows; while a flotilla of boats, filled with pioneers, following the larger craft, the very elements of the devoted fabric were destroyed.

Irritated, but not disheartened, by this calamity, the duke commanded the bridge to be re-constructed; and stationed a stronger corps, composed chiefly of Genoese bowmen, to cover the operation. Again Manny cut down, in a single night, all that had occupied weeks to erect: for he landed where no apprehension of a landing had been entertained, and attacked and dispersed the guards with terrible slaughter. Once more, however, De Lisle resumed the toil. His people became more and more vigilant, likewise, every hour; and at last they succeeded in completing the bridge, so as that it might defy the utmost efforts of the garrison. The army then crossed the Garonne; and turning their fury against the citadel, assaulted it, without any intermission, from dawn till sunset. But they were repulsed, as they had hitherto been, and again betook themselves to other expedients.

After striving throughout six successive days to force an escalade, the duke of Normandy had again recourse to the battering-ram; and bringing up eight of the largest

size from Toulouse, he applied them incessantly to the walls of the castle. Catapults and other engines likewise poured stones, darts, and arrows, upon the battlements; while belfries were constructed, under cover of which the cross-bows and archers fought in comparative security. Meanwhile new and vigorous attempts were made on the part of the besieged to re-open their communications with the surrounding country. Sorties were repeatedly made, and foraging parties sent out, which fought their way, sword in hand, through the enemy's lines; while it not unfrequently occurred that distinct actions were maintained by bands from either army, which accidentally encountered during their forays. The following account of one of these skirmishes may be taken as a specimen of many others:—

It happened, on one occasion, that the duke of Normandy sent the lord Charles de Montmorency, at the head of 500 or 600 men, to collect supplies; and that lord Charles, having swept off many head of cattle from the fields around, was returning to the camp. He had not yet reached the outposts, when sir Walter Manny made his appearance, having, with 100 light horse, eluded the vigilance of the besiegers, and collected some forage. A fierce encounter took place, and many were killed and wounded on both sides; though the English, overborne by superior numbers, were driven back towards the town. Their perilous flight being observed by the sentinels on the towers, the whole garrison was ordered under arms, and knights and archers sallied forth to rescue their overmatched comrades. When the reinforcement arrived, they found Manny beaten from his horse, but still fighting valiantly, though sore pressed on every side; they instantly charged in his support, and making a free passage with their lances, rescued him. Fresh courage was thus given to their own party; the French were disheartened; and finally, ere the alarm had reached the camp, Manny and his friends made good their retreat. They were not, however, so fortunate as to secure any portion of the plunder which lord Charles

had collected; but they returned into Auguillon amid the cheers of the townspeople, who had watched the issue of the contest with breathless anxiety.

There was no inducement which Normandy failed to apply, for the purpose of urging on his men to fresh exertions. He offered a reward of 100 golden crowns to the knight or soldier who should first plant foot upon the drawbridge of the citadel; and many and daring were the efforts made to win the prize. Among other expedients, the French manned a small boat, which, getting under the wall without attracting observation, enabled its crew to fasten strong hooks to the bridge. With these they dragged so lustily, that the chains at length gave way, and the bridge itself fell with a tremendous crash. In an instant it was crowded at one end by assailants, at the other by spearmen and knights armed with bills and axes, for the defence. From the loopholes above, moreover, stones, beams of timber, quicklime, melted lead, and boiling water, were thrown down without intermission; yet, in defiance of all these, the brave Frenchmen pressed on. And now spear met spear, bill clashed with bill, and a conflict of the most desperate nature began. But it ended, as before, in the repulse of the assailants, of whom not a few were hurled from the bridge, and perished in the moat.

We have had occasion, in the introductory chapter of this work, to speak of belfries, as a species of movable tower, by means of which besieging armies were accustomed to approach the enemy's walls, and overlook their parapets. Up to the present moment these implements had been used only by land; it was now proposed to the duke of Normandy, that he should erect four towers upon large barges, and so attack the town from the river. Day and night his engineers and artificers laboured to complete the machines, which were at last finished, made fast to boats, and launched with their brave crews upon the Garonne. Whether Manny had seen the work while in progress, or whether his spies, of

whom he had always several in pay, made him aware of the novel annoyance, he was well prepared for it. Four martinets, of a calibre unusually large, were got ready. These opened their destructive shot so soon as the floating towers began to move; and with such skill were they directed, that every second stone crashed from gallery to gallery, killing, bruising, and spreading dismay among its inmates. After losing one tower, which fell into the river, the remaining three withdrew, and all hope of reducing the place by violence was laid aside.

While this arduous struggle went on, and the duke of Normandy, despairing of conquest by any other means, spoke of converting the assault into a blockade, Edward landed in Normandy, at the head of a small but efficient army, and, adopting a new and wiser policy than he had followed in his previous campaigns, penetrated into the heart of France. We are not called upon to give any account of this brilliant but tremendous incursion. Let it suffice to state, that the English advanced almost to the gates of Paris, laying the country through which they passed utterly waste; that, deeming themselves too weak to attempt the reduction of the French capital, they turned off by Pontoise, and, crossing the Somme, after an extraordinary display of generalship on the part of their sovereign, arrived at Crotoi, in the county of Parthieu. Beyond this, "as the lawful inheritance of his lady mother," Edward refused to proceed; and here was fought the battle of Creci; one of the most splendid affairs on record. It ended, as every reader of history is aware, in the total discomfiture of the French, and the subsequent march of Edward for the investment of Calais.

The effects of this great victory were not slow in extending to the provinces of Gascony and Guienne. The siege of Auguillon was suddenly raised; and the duke of Normandy, followed by his own army, set off to support his father. Manny no sooner beheld the enemy in motion than, divining the cause, he ordered his brave followers to attend him, and sallied forth to harass the French in their

retreat. He succeeded in killing some and taking others of the rear-guard, from whom he received intelligence of the real state of affairs; and he instantly devised and carried into execution a project highly characteristic of the chivalrous times in which it was performed.

When the duke of Normandy was fairly gone, and all risk of a renewed attempt upon Auguillon obviated, Manny sent for "a great knight," whom he had captured, and asked him what sum he was willing to pay as the price of his freedom. The knight replied, "Three thousand crowns." "I know you are nearly related to the duke of Normandy," answered Manny, "that you are much beloved by him, and one of his counsellors. I will set you free upon your honour, if you will go to the duke and obtain a passport for myself and twenty others, that we may ride through France to Calais, paying courteously for whatever we may require. If you obtain this from the king, I will hold you free from your promise of ransom, and also be much obliged to you; if you fail, you will return, within a month, to this fortress, as your prison." The knight accepted the proposal. He departed for Paris; obtained the duke of Normandy's passport; and, returning with it to sir Walter Manny, was by him acquitted of his ransom.

Trusting to this safe-conduct, Manny, accompanied by his twenty companions, set out to traverse the whole breadth of France; and, such was the honourable temper of the times, that wherever he came he was for a while well received and hospitably treated. At Orleans, however, a different fate awaited him. Though here, as elsewhere, he exhibited his credentials, the authorities, acting, as they declared, by orders of king Philip, seized and led him to Paris, where, in spite of his remonstrances, he was cast into prison. It was now that the duke of Normandy took an opportunity to show that in his eyes, the sanctity of an oath was not to be violated on any plea of state policy. He hastened to the presence of his father; adjured him, as he valued his own or his son's renown, to liberate his prisoner; and finally

declared, that unless this were done, he would never again wield sword or lance in defence of the French crown. After a good deal of altercation, the king at last yielded; Manny was set at liberty, and not only invited to dine with Philip, but loaded with jewels and other costly gifts. These he accepted, with the understanding that he should acquaint his own sovereign of the circumstance immediately on his arrival at Calais, and that he should be permitted to return them in the event of Edward's disapproval. The remainder of the story we give in the quaint but not inelegant language of Froissart.

"He arrived at Calais," says the chronicler, "where he was well received by the king of England, who, upon being informed by sir Walter of his presents he had had from the king of France, said,—'Sir Walter, you have hitherto most loyally served us, and we hope you will continue to do so: send back to king Philip his presents, for you have no right to keep them; we have enough, thank God, for you and for ourselves, and are perfectly well disposed to do you all the good in our power for the services you have rendered us.' Sir Walter took out all the jewels, and giving them to his cousin, the lord of Mansoe, said,—'Ride into France to king Philip, and recommend me to him; and tell him that I thank him many times for the fine jewels he presented me with; but that it is not agreeable to the will and pleasure of the king of England, my lord, that I retain them.' Whereupon," continues Froissart, "the knight did as he was commanded: but the king of France would not take back the jewels; he gave them to the lord of Mansoe, who thanked the king for them, and had no inclination to refuse them."

Of the circumstances which attended the long and tedious blockade of Calais, it were out of place in a work like the present to attempt any account. Cut off from the reach of all supplies, the devoted garrison gradually suffered the extremity of hunger; for Philip himself, though at the head of 100,000 men, proved unable to force the works of the English. Of fighting, indeed,

there was very little; for Edward, aware of the great strength of the town, preferred to reduce it by the slow but comparatively safe process of famine; and he at last succeeded in compelling the governor, John de Vienne, to propose terms of surrender. It was to Manny that the proposition was made, accompanied by all the reasonings customary on such occasions; as, that the garrison had acted only like true men, and that it were unworthy of the high renown which Edward had earned to visit the obstinacy of the defence as a crime. Finally, it was suggested that the troops should be permitted to depart, carrying with them only their horses and arms, and that the English should take possession of the town and castle, in which there were "riches enough to content them." "John," replied Manny, "we are not ignorant of what the king our master's intentions are, for he has told us them: know, then, it is his pleasure you should not get off so; for he is resolved you should surrender yourselves solely to his will, to allow those whom he pleases their ransom, or to put them to death." Such an announcement was of course received with undisguised horror, and the brave defenders of the place could only entreat that they might be led to the king. There, however, their reception was not more gratifying. The king insisted upon an unconditional surrender, and threw out hints that the expense to which their obstinacy had subjected him should be terribly visited on their persons.

For some moments no one would venture to say a word in favour of these unfortunate men. Manny at length took courage, and with his usual frankness said to the king, "My lord, you may be to blame in this; you may set us a very bad example: for if you command us to defend any of your castles, we shall obey you with little alacrity if you put these men to death, seeing that the enemy will surely retaliate." To this the courtiers assented with one accord; and Edward was, in the end, persuaded to accept of the lives of six wealthy citizens as a sort of compromise for all. We will not pursue

this subject further. The noble self-devotion of St. Pierre and his companions, and the humane interference of queen Isabella, are not likely to be forgotten by any reader of history. It is, however, fair towards the memory of sir Walter to state, that he is honourably mentioned by Froissart as pleading for the self-devoted victims; though it was to the queen, as a matter both of state and good policy, that their lives were formally granted.

Calais opened its gates on the 4th of August, 1347; and being immediately evacuated by its French inhabitants, received a fresh colony from England. Whether Manny was nominated at once to the office of governor, or whether he acted in that capacity at a later period, we have been unable to ascertain. According to some expressions used by Froissart, it would appear that to his early friend Edward intrusted this last and most valued of his conquests; yet the same chronicler afterwards speaks of sir Armigero de Porcia as the individual on whom the chief authority reposed. Be this, however, as it may, we find that Manny took a leading part in the re-establishment of order within the walls; that he continued to reside at Calais when Edward, on the conclusion of a truce, had passed over to his own country; and that to him was confided, after the interval of a few months, a secret in which was involved the loss or preservation of the place. The following is the circumstance to which we now particularly allude.

Sir Geoffrey du Chargny, the French governor of St. Omer, "bethought himself that as Lombards are very poor (sir Armigero was a Lombard) and by nature avaricious, he would attempt to procure Calais by means of the governor; and as, from the terms of the truce, the inhabitants of the towns of St. Omer and Calais might go to each place to sell their different merchandises, sir Geoffrey entered into a secret treaty with sir Aymery (sir Armigero), and succeeded so far that he promised to deliver up the town on receiving 20,000 crowns." It is the opinion of Froissart that sir Armigero was in reality

a traitor, and that his treason was disclosed to Edward by a spy, whom the governor trusted: other authorities, with great show of justice, assert that the Lombard acceded to Chargny's offer in subtilty. Whichever opinion may be correct, it is certain that the pending negotiation came to the knowledge of Edward, who made use of the information for the purpose of taking the Frenchman in his own snare. He commanded sir Armigero to fulfil every stipulation into which he had entered; while the king himself, at the head of 300 men at arms and 600 archers, crossed the Channel secretly, and prepared to avenge the insult put upon his honour.

At the appointed moment, that is to say, about midnight, on the last day of December, sir Geoffrey du Chargny appeared before Calais with a considerable army which he drew up in reserve near the bridge of Nicullet, and twelve knights, with 100 men at arms, who were set apart for the honour of surprising the citadel. Edward, on his first arrival, had placed himself and his company under the immediate orders of Manny. It was kept a profound secret, indeed, that either he or the prince of Wales was in the place; and Manny was permitted to make such dispositions as appeared best calculated to ensure success. He instructed sir Armigero to open the gates of the castle, and to admit the detachment according to his promise. All this was done; but scarcely had the Frenchmen passed the drawbridge, when Manny with his people furiously assailed them. "Manny! Manny!" was the war-cry of the English: "do these Frenchmen think to conquer the castle of Calais with a handful of men;" and in a moment the whole band were either killed or taken. But matters ended not here. The English, sallying from the town, attacked sir Geoffrey, who had drawn gradually nearer to the walls; and so resolved were both parties to conquer or perish, that, as if by common consent, the knights alighted from their horses and fought on foot. There were many gallant deeds performed on both sides; but the most remarkable occurrence of the whole was the personal rencontre

between Edward and a French cavalier, called sir Eustace de Beaumont. Twice was the king of England beaten to his knees, yet on each occasion he recovered himself, and finally made a prisoner of his gallant and skilful adversary.

From the date of this affair till the renewal of war in 1355, sir Walter Manny resided chiefly in London. It was a period of awful suffering; for a pestilence, which had previously devastated the continents both of Asia and Europe, made its way at last to England. It broke out at Dorchester in the first week of August, 1348, and was felt in the capital in the November following. During the two succeeding years it raged with such violence that every burying ground in and about the metropolis became choked up, and men were in the end reduced to the necessity (a stern one in those days) of hiding the carcasses of their deceased relatives in unconsecrated ground. Sir Walter Manny, not less religious than warlike, took compassion upon the sufferings of the people of London. "It pleased God," says Henrie, "in this dismal time, to stir up the heart of this noble knight, to have respect to the danger that might fall in the time of this pestilence then begun in England if the churches and churchyards in London might not suffice to bury the multitude. Wherefore he purchased a piece of ground near St. John's Street, called Spittlecroft, without the bars in West Smithfield, of the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew Spittle, containing thirteen acres and a rood, and caused the same to be enclosed and consecrated by Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, at his own proper costs and charges. In which place in the year following (Stow reports) were buried more than 50,000 persons, as is affirmed by the king's charter, and by an inscription which he read upon a stonecross sometime standing in the Charter-house yard."

[illegible]t was unquestionably a generous and according to the [illegible] of the age a pious deed, yet the piety of the [illegible] knight" ended not here. He caused a chapel to be erected within the cemetery which he liberally en-

dowed, in order that masses might be continually said for the souls of the departed.*

The recommencement of hostilities, in 1355, did not immediately draw sir Walter away from the prosecution of his pious labours. In 1360, however, he accompanied the army which Edward led from Calais, and was foremost at every assault and foray in which the army was engaged. As it was before Paris that the most suitable occasion offered for displaying once more his adventurous and daring spirit, we shall confine our notice of this part of his career to his exploit on that occasion.

The king, after ravaging Picardy, Artois, and Cambresis, and taking and plundering Rheims, penetrated into Burgundy, whence he turned to the north, and, following the course of the Seinc, arrived within view of Paris. Here he pitched his camp; and here, in a species of conventional festivity, the Easter holidays were spent. At the conclusion of these, war was again renewed; and the customary bravado of sending in a challenge to the dauphin was displayed, with its customary inutility, by the English monarch. But Edward's exhausted means would not permit him to linger long at so great a distance from his supplies. He accordingly proposed to withdraw towards Britany, with the avowed intention of returning again so soon as the vintage should be over. It appeared, however, to Manny, that were they to retire from the very gates of the enemy's capital without measuring lances with any part of the garrison, the expedition would redound little to the honour of the English chivalry. He therefore requested and obtained permission to make an incursion as far as the barriers; and he effected his purpose by combating long and furiously with the flower of the Parisian knights.

* The most extraordinary superstitions prevailed at this period; and sects, holding tenets the most revolting, arose. Among others, the Flagellants seem to have been called forth by the terror occasioned by the pestilence. These wretched enthusiasts went about in companies of men and women, halting in every street, and lashing the bare shoulders one of the other with whips and thongs. They made some converts in countries where the imagination is usually more warm than among Englishmen; but here the good people contented themselves with gazing, pitying, and marvelling.

Of the remainder of this gallant warrior's public life, a few words will convey all the information of which we have been able to make ourselves masters. When by the mediation of the pope England and France became reconciled, Manny returned to his house in London, where he lived honoured and respected by all classes, amid the exercise of numerous domestic virtues. Old as he was, however, when the policy of Charles the Wise led him to violate the engagements into which his father had entered, Manny again buckled on his armour, and followed the standard of the duke of Lancaster, when in 1369 he conducted a destructive inroad from Calais into the heart of France. It was the last military service which the brave sir Walter witnessed. Worn out with years, and covered with honourable scars, he hung up his sword for ever in 1370, and devoted himself more and more to the great purpose of providing for his last change. With this view he founded, on the site of his own cemetery, a convent of Carthusian monks, the rudiments, if we may so express ourselves, of the present excellent Charter-House; and he lived to see it filled with a colony of those mistaken zealots, whose austerity of manner and dress passed current as the emblem of piety. Finally, in the year 1372, he died in his bed, and was buried with great pomp in the cloisters of his own convent.

We have selected sir Walter de Manny as our specimen of the chivalrous era in the military history of England, because, though others might be found equally daring and not less successful, we shall look in vain for any individual who united in his own person so completely all the good qualities of a general and a soldier. Bold in his conceptions, and prompt in their execution, it will yet be found that Manny was never hurried into rashness by the spirit even of knightly enterprise itself. Of this his behaviour at Cadsant furnishes ample proof, when, regardless of his own inferiority in numbers, he attacked without so much as pausing to deliberate, because he felt that his best chance of success lay in

appearing to despise his enemy. In like manner his romantic inroad into France, though performed in consequence of a vow made at home, gave an opportunity for the display of talents more rare than personal courage, while his defence of Auguillon will for ever entitle him to take rank among the most skilful as well as enterprising governors of his era. Manny seems, indeed, to have possessed all the military virtues of the middle ages, with many which belong to a period more enlightened. Loving perils for their own sake, he nevertheless entered upon no expedition without previously calculating the chances ; and the success which attended him, wherever he commanded in chief, affords the best testimony to the correctness of these calculations. In private life, again, Manny seems to have been humane, honourable, and generous. His behaviour at Calais, his refusal of king Philip's valuable gifts, as well as his treatment of the knight of Normandy, speak volumes in favour of his humanity and generous feeling ; while his purchase of the burial ground, and his erection of the Carthusian monastery, have obtained for him the reputation of liberality towards the poor, and piety towards God.

Manny's funeral was attended by the king, a large number of the prelates, and no inconsiderable portion of the nobility and knighthood of England. He left behind him one daughter, named Anne; who marrying the earl of Pembroke, transferred to that noble house all the possessions, both in England and Hainault, which her father had either inherited or acquired.

SIR FRANCIS DE VERE;

BEING A SPECIMEN OF THE MILITARY COMMANDERS IN THE ELIZABETHAN AGE.

Of the changes which occurred in the military system of England during the fifteenth and part of the sixteenth centuries, sufficient notice has been taken in the introduction to this work. It has been shown, that in proportion as gunpowder became generally applicable to the purposes of attack and defence, the art of war acquired every day a more scientific character; that the cumbersome load of defensive armour with which both infantry and cavalry used to be loaded, was gradually laid aside; and that the leaders of armies learned to depend for success, rather upon the wisdom of their own combinations, than upon the personal gallantry of their followers. It is indeed true, that many generations returned into dust ere the spirit of chivalry ceased to operate. So long as the matchlock remained in use, and for some time after the introduction of the firelock, while a small portion only of the troops were supplied with these formidable weapons, there seems to have been ample room left for the display of that individual daring which constituted the first military virtue under the Plantagenets; and hence we find, that even in Elizabeth's time the most skilful generals possessed, in no trifling degree, the reckless and romantic bravery of the chivalrous ages.

Among the illustrious warriors who flourished while things were in this state,—while artillery, that tremendous engine in modern warfare, being as yet employed chiefly in sieges, men at arms rode to battle in complete harness, and both musketeers and pikemen covered themselves with corselets and steel caps,—there was none whose

exploits more justly entitle him to the admiration of posterity than sir Francis de Vere.

Of that great man we propose now to give the history, not more because of the renown which justly attaches to it, than because he constitutes by far the best specimen with which our researches have made us acquainted, of the warrior in a condition intermediate, as it were, between the mailed knight of remote ages, and the naked, though not less intrepid, soldier of modern times.

Francis de Vere, the second son of Geoffrey de Vere, and grandson of John de Vere, fifteenth earl of Oxford, first saw the light at Castle Henningham *, in Essex, in the year 1554. His family was, beyond all comparison, the most illustrious to which any subject of the English crown could lay claim; he was descended in a direct line from the same Alaric de Vere who came in with the Conqueror, and was by him enriched with several valuable landships, including that where the subject of the present memoir was born. But it is not on account of the rare antiquity of his race that we speak of Francis de Vere, as of one whose blood ran free from every taint. His ancestors were conspicuous from generation to generation, not more on account of the eminent stations which they filled, than for their individual talents, their integrity and loyalty. The son of Alaric was, by king Henry I., constituted great chamberlain of England; his grandson received from the empress Maud the dignity of earl of Oxford; and the title was enjoyed by his children after him throughout the unexampled series of twenty generations. If we look again to the collateral branches of this noble house, we shall find them in the roll of bishops, judges, knights of the garter, generals, and admirals; distinguished in each capacity by a zealous discharge of its duties, and a steady and unbending adherence to the laws of probity and honour. The wealth of the family seems likewise to have been

* It is a singular fact, that three different places, namely, Henningham Castle, Colchester, and Tilbury juxta Clue, claim the honour of this great man's birth. We have assigned the palm where the weight of evidence seems to award it.

enormous. John, the seventh earl, who died in 1360, possessed in Essex forty-nine knights' fees; in Cambridgeshire eighteen, in Suffolk seventeen, in Huntingdonshire seven; while, in a generation or two later, the amount held in Essex alone fell not short of seventy knights' fees.

From this great and noble stock was Francis de Vere descended; a man, of whom it may be a question "whether the nobility of his house or the honour of his achievements might most commend him, who brought as much glory to his name as he received honour from it." *

We have not been able to discover, either in the youth or early manhood of sir Francis de Vere, any events worthy of particular notice in such a sketch as the present. His education seems to have been conducted after the most approved usages of his age and country, and

* We cannot deny ourselves the gratification of inserting the following splendid exordium spoken by lord chief justice Crew to the house of lords in the year 1626, when delivering an opinion in a case which arose respecting the succession to the title on the death of Henry de Vere, earl of Oxford. The speech is quoted in Mr Cruise's Treatise on Dignities.

"This great and weighty cause," said the chief justice, "incomparable to any other that hath happened at any time, requires great deliberation and solid and mature judgment to determine it; and, therefore, I wish all the judges of England had heard it (being a case fit for all), to the end we altogether might have given our humble advice to your lordships herein. Here is represented to your lordships *certamen honoris*, and, as I may well say, *illustris honoris*, illustrious honour. I heard a great peer of this realm, and a learned, say, when he lived, there was no king in Christendom had such a subject as Oxford. He came in with the Conqueror, earl of Guynes; shortly after the Conquest made great chamberlain of England, above 500 years ago, by Henry I. the Conqueror's son, brother to Rufus; by Maud the empress, earl of Oxford; confirmed and approved by Henry Fitzempress, Henry II. *Alberico comiti*, so earl before.

"This great honour, this high and noble dignity, hath continued ever since in the remarkable surname of De Vere, by so many ages, descents, and generations, as no other kingdom can produce such a peer in one and the self-same name and title. I find in all this length of time but two attainders of this noble family, and those in stormy and tempestuous times, when the government was unsettled and the kingdom in competition.

"I have laboured to make a covenant with myself that affection may not press upon judgment; for I suppose there is no man that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness but his affection stands to the continuance of so noble a name and house, and would take hold of a twig or twine thread to uphold it; and yet time hath his revolution; there must be a period and an end of all temporal things, *finis rerum*, an end of names, and dignities, and whatsoever is *terrene*, and why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? where is Mowbray? where is Mortimer? nay, which is more and most of all, where is Plantagenet? They are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality; and yet let the name and dignity of De Vere stand so long as it pleaseth God." See *Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia*.

his proficiency as a scholar stands in no need of further testimony than he has himself afforded. His "Commentaries," or the narrative of various services in which he was personally engaged, remains a lasting monument of the good taste as well as the literary aptitude of its author. But the natural bent of De Vere's genius, seems to have inclined decidedly to the cultivation of the art of war. We find, for example, that so soon as qualified by law, he attended every muster of the militia force of his country; that he took particular delight in training and exercising these levies, himself excelling in all the accomplishments of a soldier; and that he embraced the first opportunity which offered of exchanging the elementary for the practical branch of "the noble profession of arms." How this was accomplished will best be explained by giving a brief outline of the military position in which England stood towards other powers during the first thirty years of the reign of queen Elizabeth.

On the 17th of November, 1558, Mary of England died, and her sister Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed queen. She found the country engaged in tedious and expensive wars, both with France and Scotland. To the former she hastened to put an end by sacrificing, without reluctance, to her own personal feelings, rights which had been long and fondly cherished by the people. The latter she continued for awhile to wage, though in the character rather of a mediatrix between hostile factions than as a direct belligerent. Even this, however, ceased, in the autumn of 1560, on the return of the beautiful and unfortunate Mary to Edinburgh; and the troops which had hitherto served as auxiliaries, being recalled, England was at peace with all the world.

The breaking out of civil commotions in France interrupted for a space this order of things; when, in 1562, Elizabeth, in spite of her exalted opinions of the royal prerogative, scrupled not to assist the prince of Condé with men and money. Her interference on that

occasion was as little creditable, in point of principle, as it proved unsatisfactory in its result; for the opposite parties, composing their own differences, sacrificed without hesitation the interests of England to those of their native country. In 1564 hostilities were laid aside, on terms the very reverse of creditable to the English government; but within the compass of six years we again find the two nations at variance. Elizabeth, assuming to herself the character of protector to the reformed faith, gave a favourable ear to the solicitations of the French huguenots, and supplied them, in 1569, if not with troops, at all events with treasure and military stores. The battle of Jarnac, however, fought March 14. 1570, put a stop to these troubles; and the English sovereign, who had never avowedly broken through existing treaties, for the second time, successfully negotiated peace.

It is not necessary to detail at length the numerous plots and intrigues in which the English government became, from time to time, mixed up, for the purpose of furthering the progress of the reformation in all the catholic countries of Europe. Generally speaking, affairs were so managed as to keep the nation free from the hazard of actual warfare; but corps of volunteers were permitted to pass over, and ample sums of money were liberally dispersed. When the people of Belgium, however, determined to shake off the Spanish yoke, a bolder, and, in many respects, a more honourable policy, was adopted. Elizabeth openly espoused the cause of the insurgents. She refused, indeed, to accept the crown which the Belgians would have pressed upon her; but she readily promised a subsidiary force of 6000 men, which she undertook to raise and maintain at her own charges; yet, even here, her usual caution forsook not the maiden queen. It was expressly stipulated, that all the expenses incurred should be repaid by the states, within five years after the restoration of tranquillity; and the towns of Flushing and Brill,

with the strong post of Rammikens, were demanded as pledges for the fulfilment of the treaty.

On the 10th of December, 1585, the English army, under the command of Dudley earl of Leicester, landed at Flushing. It consisted chiefly of infantry, of musketeers, and pikemen, with a few squadrons of horse; and there accompanied the leader a body of 500 gentlemen, who served at their own expense as volunteers. Francis de Vere, then in his thirty-first year, composed for a time one of this patrician band; but, as he had determined to adopt the army as a profession, he soon withdrew from a corps which seemed to be kept up as much for purposes of show as for active service. He now attached himself especially to the gallant sir Philip Sidney, and entered at once upon a career of peril and renown. In the many skirmishes which took place during the summer of 1586, De Vere bore a conspicuous part. he was present in the action near Greve, in Brabant; he headed a party at the escalade of Avil, and witnessed the memorable battle of Warnsfield, where Sidney received his mortal wound. On each of these occasions he gave ample proof of cool and collected courage, though his rank was necessarily too subordinate to afford much scope for the display of military talent. In like manner, at the siege of Sluys, in 1587, his name is connected with that of sir Roger Williams, as contributing mainly to the determined obstinacy of the defence; but it was not till the year following that his merits received their due reward, by raising him to a station of command and responsibility. As the history of De Vere, considered in the light of a military commander, may be said to commence from this date, it will be necessary to give a detailed account of the affair which fixed upon him the eyes both of his own countrymen and of prince Maurice.

The war of Dutch independence had been waged with very unsatisfactory results, when, in the year 1588, the duke of Parma advanced to the attack of Bergen-op-Zoom. Even then this town was justly accounted one

of the strongest places in the Low Countries; and being occupied by an English garrison under lord Willoughby, the successor of Leicester, little apprehension was experienced as to the issue of the struggle. That no means of defence might, however, be neglected, lord Willoughby took possession of the island of Toretole as a military post. To the command of this important station he nominated De Vere; and putting under his orders two companies of foot, which amounted in all to 150 men, he instructed him to maintain his ground to the last extremity.

De Vere had not long held his honourable office when the duke of Parma, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, appeared before the place. He began his operations by a furious assault upon Toretole; but, though he employed in the service the very *élite* of his Spanish infantry, he was repulsed with great slaughter. He did not renew the attempt, but, drawing a chain of posts around the town, gave out that he should trust to famine rather than to the sword. De Vere, perceiving that Toretole was no longer the post of danger, solicited and obtained the sanction of lord Willoughby to resign his command; and coming into the body of the place, took a part in all such operations as were esteemed best calculated to harass and annoy the besiegers.

There were two forts situated between the town and the river, of the most important of which the duke of Parma had made repeated attempts to acquire possession; into this De Vere obtained permission to throw himself, nor did any great while elapse ere an opportunity was afforded him of performing there an exploit not unworthy of the future defender of Ostend. It chanced that in one of the affairs which were continually occurring, two Spanish officers were made prisoners. These persons being lodged in the house of a burgher where an English soldier dwelt, made overtures, first to their host, and afterwards to the Englishman, for the betrayal of the fort. They promised in the name of the duke of Parma large bribes; and the other parties affecting to acquiesce in the proposal, means of accomplishing the desired end appeared

alone to require consideration. But neither the burgher nor the Englishman were in reality traitors. They communicated all that had passed to De Vere, and in their future proceedings they were guided entirely by his suggestions. That his own projects, moreover, might be the more readily forwarded, De Vere caused the guards to affect a negligence of which they were really not guilty. The Spanish officers were permitted to escape; the supposed traitors ostentatiously conveying them beyond the walls, while, in due course of time, they likewise passed over disregarded, if not unobserved by the garrison. Being carried before the duke of Parma, they entered with him into the same species of treaty in which they had already embarked with his subordinates. They received liberal presents, and still more liberal promises, in return for which they agreed to guide that night a division of troops to one of the gates, where, according to their statement, no watch was kept. Though well disposed to trust these his new allies, the duke of Parma took the precaution to fetter them with irons, and to place them between two troopers, to whom, in the hearing of the guides, strict orders were given that on the first appearance of treachery they should each despatch his man. In this order they proceeded; a column of 3000 choice soldiers following, of whom a considerable proportion were officers; and as the gate was found to be open, and the drawbridge down, the leading files entered without hesitation. But when about 500 only were across the ditch, the silence which had hitherto prevailed was suddenly broken: a gun from one of the bastions was fired; instantly the draw-bridge swung aloft, and the gates closing with a loud crash, the head was completely cut off from the rear of the column.

The utter destruction of those caught in the snare was the work almost of a moment. Strongly reinforced from the body of the place, De Vere stood ready to receive them; and attacking them while yet bewildered by the consciousness that they were betrayed, he cut them to pieces, without loss to himself. In the mean while, the

party without the walls were assailed by a murderous fire of large and small shot. Unable to retreat without a continued exposure to the same rough handling, they turned furiously upon their tormentors, and crossing the ditch, then empty of water, tore down the pallisades, and made desperate efforts to mount the wall. Multitudes perished in the attempt; others gained the parapet only to fall by the hands of the defenders; and the returning tide swept away a still greater number while struggling in the mud. In a word, the project by which the duke of Parma had hoped to make himself master of the redoubt not only failed, but failed under circumstances so disastrous, that a panic seized his whole army. The siege was in consequence raised, and "the conqueror in a thousand fields" precipitately retreated.

The eminent services of De Vere on this occasion were frankly acknowledged and promptly rewarded by lord Willoughby. He was honoured with the distinction of knighthood, and began from that time forth to exercise a marked influence over the general conduct of the war. During many months, it is indeed true that, on both sides, the contest languished. The duke of Parma, worn out with the fatigues of numerous campaigns, had scarcely retired to Spa, when he was called upon to serve in France against Henry; while the States, exhausted by past exertions, found themselves in no condition to profit by the opportunity which his absence afforded. The consequence was, that while the allies kept aloof, satisfied to retain what they could, without being compelled to do so at the cannon's mouth, count Mansfeldt, on whom the command of the Spanish forces devolved, spread himself, by very slow degrees, over the face of the country, seldom attempting any great or important conquest, yet by little and little adding something to the territory acquired by his predecessor.

We have not been able to ascertain either the place or the manner in which sir Francis de Vere spent the winter of 1588. In the spring of 1589, however, we find him at the head of 600 Englishmen, acting under

the immediate orders of prince Maurice, the general in chief of the Dutch forces. It was then that count Charles of Mansfeldt, after penetrating through Brabant, arrived on the south bank of the Waal; and throwing a portion of his troops into the Bommel Weert, made dispositions to occupy the island of Voorn. It was a post of great importance, inasmuch as it commanded the navigation both of the Maese and the Waal; and hence its capture could not fail seriously to affect both the honour and interests of the states. Nevertheless count Maurice, having but 1500 men under his orders, and seeing himself threatened by not less than 12,000, determined upon a retreat. Before issuing orders, however, to this effect, he repaired, together with count Hollock, the second in command, to the quarters of De Vere, in order to consult him touching the propriety of the measure. De Vere resolutely and unhesitatingly condemned it. "Such a position ought not," he said, "to be abandoned, except at the express command of the states-general;" and, in the true spirit of chivalry, he offered himself to maintain it with his regiment of English alone. Prince Maurice was as much struck with the reasoning as with the devoted heroism of his ally. He reinforced the English battalion with 200 Netherlanders, thus increasing their effective strength to 800 men; and leaving them to make what defence they could, drew off with the rest of his little army.

Under the modest account given of this affair by De Vere himself, it is easy to perceive that he exercised, when left to his own resources, both the gallantry of the cavalier and the sagacity of the general. He employed his little corps night and day in throwing up intrenchments; while he so disposed his artillery, of which he possessed a force great in proportion to his infantry, as to bring a cross fire upon every point liable to insult. The issue was, that Mansfeldt, after repeatedly reconnoitring, abstained even from the hazard of an assault; and decamping suddenly, marched away to try the weight of his arms in other quarters.

So decided a confirmation of the opinions which he had previously expressed, failed not to raise our countryman still higher than before in the estimation of the states-general, by whom he was henceforth employed in numerous enterprises, each of which required a more than ordinary share both of courage and quickness. Within a few weeks after his gallant defence of Voorn, intelligence arrived at the Hague that Bergh, upon the Rhine, which had been for some time besieged by the marquis of Warrenbon, was suffering severely through a scarcity of provisions. The states had no army in the field worthy of the name. With an exhausted revenue, and a country every where laid waste, the means both of raising and supporting troops were wanting. They were, therefore, compelled to trust to the patriotism of the inhabitants of the towns, who made here and there efforts great beyond what might have been expected at their hands. Prince Maurice, it is indeed true, used more than common endeavours to succour them; and by dint of great exertions kept together such a force as might, on the coming of better times, form the nucleus round which to collect an army; but in general the corps disposable for active enterprises came up, in point of numbers, scarcely to the strength of a modern brigade, certainly not of a division. They were, moreover, dispersed over the provinces, partly for the sake of lightening the commissariat, partly in accordance with that selfish policy which renders confederate states careless of the general good, wherever their own seems to be at stake; and hence, as often as some pressing emergency arose, it could be met only by concentrating, at the manifest hazard of losing all while that process went on. The following account of the two-fold relief of Bergh will illustrate the truth of these observations; at the same time that it tends to place in a conspicuous point of view, both the talent and activity of De Vere:—

On the 4th of June, De Vere received instructions to march into Guelderland, and to place himself with nine companies of English under the orders of count Meurs.

On the 16th he arrived at Arnheim, the grand military depôt for that part of the country, and immediately proceeded to concert with the governor plans for the projected expedition. But ere these could be carried into execution, an accident occurred, which, happily for the people of Bergh, threw the command into the hands of the English general. While count Meurs was superintending the removal of a quantity of gunpowder, an explosion took place, by which he was so severely injured that he survived only a few days; and the states immediately requested that De Vere would take entirely upon himself a charge which he was originally destined to share with another. Ambition and talent, it is said, particularly among military men, go for the most part together. De Vere needed few persuasions to prevail with him in a case where, though there might be great difficulties to be surmounted, there was the prize of high renown to be earned. He accepted the command without hesitation; and reinforcing his own little corps with seven companies of infantry and twelve cornets or weak troops of cavalry, he made dispositions to penetrate, either by guile or force, through the enemy's lines.

Having completed his arrangements, De Vere set out in the direction of Caleti, a fort on the Rhine, built by Schenk *, immediately opposite to Rees. At this place, which was distant from Bergh five or six leagues, a number of carriages had been collected, all of which were laden with provisions and stores for the distressed garrison; and though the intervening country was every where exposed, De Vere made no delay in transporting his convoy thither. He set out immediately after nightfall; and encouraging his men to more than common exertions, arrived in rear of the enemy's lines just as the morning began to break. Without a moment's pause, his people, whom he had formed as they came up, were

* One of the most extraordinary adventurers that ever lived; a second Dugald Dalgetty, who fought on both sides with the same zeal, and never once violated an engagement even when passing from one party to another.

ordered to charge. They did so with such impetuosity, that the besiegers were at once swept aside; and the much-needed supplies were thrown into the place without the loss of a single wagon. Nor was this all: having scantily refreshed his men and horses, this indefatigable officer sallied forth from the very gate by which he had entered; and once more cutting his way sword in hand through the guards of the trenches, retired, as he had come, to Caleti.

The relief thus afforded to Bergh, though in the greatest degree seasonable, promised only to defer the evil day; for within the compass of a fortnight, intelligence reached De Vere that the garrison was again as much distressed as ever. He learned, at the same time, that reinforcements had joined the investing corps, and that count Mansfeldt himself was hourly expected with his victorious army from Brabant. De Vere felt that if the place were to be further stored at all, not a moment ought to be lost in effecting the service: he accordingly communicated with the civil authorities of the province, and having received their sanction to act as it might to himself appear most expedient, he set about preparing for a second expedition. A few hours served to assemble and load his wagons; a few hours more to select and properly equip the escort; and on the following morning he began his march towards the beleaguered town.

On a former occasion De Vere had deceived his enemies by following both the longest and the most exposed route; while, trusting more to rapidity of movement than to the weight of his column, he had adventured upon the enterprise with a very slender escort. Now, his mode of acting was different. Along the course of the river ran a path, rugged, indeed, and occasionally broken, which, as it approached Bergh, became shaggy with underwood, and here and there crossed by streams. By this path he resolved to march; and though it would necessarily [illegible]n within musket-shot of Loo, a castle or strong [illegible] possessed by the Spaniards, he determined to [illegible] his object in open day. His convoy consisted of

about 500 English and as many Dutch infantry, of 50 English cavalry, and 100 Netherlanders, as well as a couple of field pieces, and a considerable train of cars and sumpter horses, with their drivers properly equipped. These he distributed into an advanced guard, a main body, and a rear guard; and placing the wagons in the centre between the Dutch and English infantry, the whole set forward.

They had accomplished the greater part of their journey, and were already within a few miles of Bergh, when, on approaching the wood near Loo, the advance found themselves suddenly galled by a fire of musketry from the thickets. At the same moment the enemy were seen to pour from the fort in such numbers, as to leave no doubt of the presence of a force very superior to that of the ordinary garrison; while their style of movement indicated a disposition not so much to intercept, as to close upon the convoy so soon as it should become entangled in the wood. De Vere instantly reinforced his advanced guard with the larger portion of his musketeers: these he directed to drive in the enemy's skirmishers from the edge of the defile; while the pikemen pressing on should clear the lane itself, and open a secure road both for the cavalry and baggage. The musketeers fought bravely; they not only cleared the thickets, but pushed back the Spaniards upon the castle itself: while the Dutch troops, marching at a brisk pace, plunged into the narrow defile. They were followed at a long interval by the wagons and carmen: these again were succeeded by the mass of the English; the troop of 50 horsemen moving behind the foot; while De Vere himself brought up the rear with 100 pikemen, and the most expert marksmen collected from the skirmishers.

These dispositions were scarcely completed, when the Spanish musketeers, increased to the number of 500, once more assailed the convoy. De Vere met them with his gallant rear guard, and, after a good deal of firing, beat them back; but the defile being long and tangled, he could not venture to pursue his advantage. He con-

tented himself, therefore, with pressing them a second time into the open country, after which he withdrew at a quick step. But he had not yet traversed half the defile when a shout arose in his rear, — a sufficient indication that a third attack was arranged. De Vere had kept with himself six drummers and several trumpeters. While he directed his men to continue their march, he caused these to halt and to sound a charge with all their might; and, simple as the stratagem may appear when thus described, it produced on this, as on many other occasions, the desired effect. The shouts of the pursuers ceased; they halted, formed up, and stood to receive the anticipated shock, thus enabling the English to gain upon them a space which was not afterwards lost. In a word, the defile was threaded, and the open country attained, without any loss on the part of the convoy.

The wood from which the English had just emerged was low and scraggy, the ground rising somewhat abruptly at the farther side. From this elevation De Vere now looked back, and beheld a dense mass of troops, musketeers and pikemen, supported by many squadrons of cavalry, in hot and reckless pursuit. He felt that to be overtaken in a wide and arid plain by numbers so superior, would expose his detachment to certain destruction. Encumbered with baggage, moreover, and somewhat disordered by their late march, he could not hope to draw off in time; he determined, therefore, like a stag closely run, to stand at bay. A select body of pikemen were promptly formed at the gorge of the defile, along which the two pieces of cannon were laid: clouds of musketeers were thrown on either flank, and advanced within the copse; while the rest received instructions to wheel up as a support; the cavalry alone protecting the waggons on their route. And high time it was that these dispositions should be made, for the advance of the enemy, consisting of 200 pikemen, was already at hand.

The Spaniards, seeing the bold front assumed by De Vere, halted: they had felt the weight of his prowess

before, and appeared to doubt the prudence of again abiding the trial. This apparent irresolution on their part gave confidence to the English, of whom their leader confesses that some were at first amazed; and De Vere cheering them on, they advanced boldly "to the push of pike." At the same moment the musketeers, throwing in their fire, gradually overlapped each flank of the enemy's column. The Spaniards recoiled, and began seriously to waver, when De Vere's horse, killed by the blow of a pike, fell under him: he lay helpless and encumbered in the midst of the fray, one party struggling to despatch, the other to protect him; till after receiving a wound in the leg, together with several thrusts through his clothes, his people succeeded in extricating him from his perilous situation. He rose with some difficulty, for his wound was severe; but well aware that the present was not a moment at which to consult his own convenience, he rallied all his strength and again led his pikemen forward. The enemy retreated for a while in good order, facing about from time to time; but at last a panic seized them and they fled. Now, then, were the English urged on by their own impetuosity, in a manner which it required all the management of their leader to restrain: they kept their ranks, however, with great steadiness; and falling fiercely upon a second column, disheartened by the rout of their advance, broke it at a rush. It was to no purpose that a body of 500 cavalry strove either to force back their own infantry, or to check the English. Hemmed in on either hand by the thickets, they could offer no front to De Vere, who plied them with his pikes, till he compelled the troopers to abandon their horses, and escape as they best could on foot. Finally, a dense column of not less than 2000 Neapolitans, who brought up the rear, dispersed as soon as they beheld the gleaming of the English arms; and a handful of men, who began the battle under the impression that they fought for safety, remained conquerors over an army ten times more numerous than themselves.

Out of the total force of 1300 men, which accom-

panied him from Bergh, De Vere brought into action that day not more than 400. These were exclusively English; and they did their duty so effectually, that they slew upwards of 800 of their assailants. Yet is the victory, romantic as we must acknowledge it to be, sufficiently explicable on scientific principles. De Vere made admirable use of all his arms. He seized and kept an advantage of position, which prevented the enemy from opposing to him, at any moment, a front more extended than his own; while he followed up his first success with a promptitude which left no leisure for recovery. Yet he was not hurried, by the excitement of victory, into any rash or headstrong movement. On the contrary, his men were not only kept from straggling,—a matter of somewhat difficult accomplishment when following a broken enemy,—but the pursuit itself was arrested just where prudence required—on a bridge which crossed a stream at the skirt of the wood. Thus was the first advantage gained by personal prowess, preserved throughout by caution and skill; qualities in which it must be confessed that his opponents exhibited a deplorable deficiency.

Having rested his men in the position just alluded to, and collected a considerable booty in horses, standards, and other warlike trophies, De Vere, as soon as night set in, resumed his line of march. No further attempt was made to molest him. He found his convoy halted about half way between the gorge of the defile and the town, and the whole entered in triumph amid the blaze of lighted torches. But even now only half his difficulties were surmounted. It was not intended that his people should remain in Bergh, thus eating up the supplies which themselves had brought, while the prisoners assured him that an army of 14,000 men would oppose every endeavour to escape. De Vere, with his usual energy, set both moral hazard and personal inconvenience at defiance. Though suffering severely from his wound, he mustered his people at an early hour the following morning, and, under cover of a thick fog, quitted the

town. The happiest results attended him on the present occasion. By again varying his route, he contrived to escape all molestation from the enemy, of whom a troop of horse alone showed themselves at a distance; and carrying his wounded in the empty wagons, he arrived safely at his original station, to the astonishment of the civil authorities, and the admiration of the general in chief.

De Vere seems not to have found any other convenient field for the display of his military talent, till the summer succeeding that which witnessed the services just described. Then it was, that the castle of Litkenhooven being closely invested, he was directed to throw supplies into it, as he had done before into Bergh. His force, on this occasion, amounted to 800 foot and 500 horse, of which a considerable proportion were English; but of artillery he had not a single piece, and in intrenching tools he was wretchedly deficient. Marching with great celerity, and not less caution,—his object being to surprise the besiegers, if practicable,—he arrived one morning, just as the dawn began to break, in the vicinity of the lines. To his great astonishment he found them deserted; but the enemy had erected a redoubt, which commanded the approach to Litkenhooven, where, to use his own quaint but expressive language, "they had left a good store of men." One of two modes of proceeding was now presented to him: either he must reduce this redoubt, which was "raised of a good height with earth," and surmounted by gabions of ample dimensions—and that, in the absence of cannon with which to breach, or of ladders to aid in the attack; or he must return, leaving unattained the object for the accomplishment of which he had been especially appointed. De Vere was not a man to take counsel of prudence where he believed that honour was at hazard. He determined upon giving the assault; and the arrangements which he made were in every respect such as became the proud name that already attached to him. After summoning the place, and receiving a positive

refusal, he divided his little corps into eight bands, allotting two to the attack of each angle; though the reserves were instructed on no account to move till they should receive a signal by beat of drum. This done, he commanded the storming parties to advance; which rushed on with great hardihood, and strove, but without effect, to surmount the rampart. Having waited till he saw that their ardour began to cool, and that the garrison had nearly expended their ready ammunition, De Vere gave the signal to the reserve, which, bearing down all opposition, entered the redoubt pell-mell. Three hundred and fifty Spaniards fell in this attack; while the loss on the part of the English exceeded not eighty.

Having thus delivered Litkenhooven from the inconveniences of a blockade, De Vere refreshed his men; after which he began his march homewards through the county of Cleves. While prosecuting this journey, he learned that Burick, on the Rhine, with the fort adjoining, had been surprised; and he resolved to hazard something for their recovery. There was no difficulty whatever in penetrating into Burick, for the town was slenderly guarded; but the citadel being capacious, and provided with a competent garrison, it appeared a hazardous matter to attempt its reduction. Nevertheless the attempt was made that very night. Ladders having been hastily constructed, were planted soon after dark, and the men rushed to the assault with their usual intrepidity: but the wood proved unsound, the ladders gave way, and the attack every where failed. Nothing daunted by this repulse, De Vere renewed the escalade on the following evening. Once more he was unfortunate. Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the men, —"the shot having order, when they came to the top of the ladders, not to enter, but, taking the top of the wall for a breast and safeguard, to shoote at the enemie fighting at the workside, and standing in the hollow of the bulwark, till the same was cleared of defendants," —this attack likewise failed. Day dawned ere the

troops could establish themselves on the ramparts; and a fire was opened upon them both in front and flank, which no patience could endure. They precipitately retreated, carrying their ladders along with them, and sought shelter in the town.

Irritated rather than disheartened by this second repulse, De Vere gave orders that fresh ladders should be prepared, and made ready to renew the assault as soon as darkness should return. It is not very easy to determine how the affair might have terminated, had the courage of the governor been equal to his means of defence; but the arrival of a messenger to propose terms of surrender obviated the necessity of a third attack. The fort was given up; and the garrison, which in point of numbers fell not short of the assailing army, marched, with arms and baggage, to join count Mansfeldt.

De Vere was not permitted to linger long in Burick; for the duke of Parma having returned, prince Maurice began to concentrate his divisions, and the English received orders to take post at Deesburgh. They were thus situated, when a confidential despatch announced to them that the prince intended to invest Zutphen: De Vere was at the same time requested to push forward with his own corps, for the purpose of sweeping the country of its cattle and forage, and straitening the garrison; and he executed the order not only with effect, but after a manner peculiar to himself. Adjoining to the town stood a strong fort, the possession of which promised materially to forward the siege; but which, on a former occasion, had cost Leicester a heavy loss ere he succeeded in reducing it. Of this De Vere resolved to make himself master, and he fell upon the following expedient for the purpose: — Having chosen a good number of lusty and hardy young soldiers, the most of whom he apparelled like the countrywomen of those parts, the rest like the men, he sent them forward, carrying baskets on their backs, and pistols and daggers under their aprons. They travelled in groups of two

and three together, till they arrived about [illegible] at the river, where, close beside the gate of the fort, they sat down as if waiting for the arrival of a ferry boat. No suspicion that they were other than they appeared arose among the garrison: they opened the gate as usual, let down the bridge, and went forth in numbers to converse with the supposed country-people, who ran forward with loud laughter, as if to meet them, till they had gained the covered way; they then drew their weapons, seized the guard, and maintained themselves in the archway till a body of troops, which had been moved silently to their support, arrived. Thus was the castle taken; while Zutphen, which depended upon it as a principal bulwark, surrendered after a very feeble resistance.

Zutphen having fallen, and Deventer opened its gates, prince Maurice, followed by the English under De Vere, marched into Friesland, where he employed himself during some time in the reduction of numerous fortified places. In his career of conquest he was suddenly interrupted by an urgent message from the states-general, who, hearing that the duke of Parma had penetrated into the Beltow, one of the large islands formed by the rivers Rhine and Waal, hastily recalled him. He hurried back to Arnheim, where the states were assembled; and finding that the duke of Parma had actually formed the siege of Kosenburg, a castle which protects the ferry of Nimeguen, he crossed the Rhine with the intention of making the most of such opportunities as might occur. His own expectations, however, seem not to have extended far: though there was little disparity in point of numbers between the two armies, Maurice not only respected the great talents of the duke of Parma, but looked upon the position which he had assumed as absolutely unassailable; and hence the forward movement was made rather [illegible]fy the minds of his own government, than with [illegible]pe that either Kosenburg or Nimeguen could [illegible] Widely different were the views and antici[illegible] of De Vere. Full of ardour and enterprise, he [illegible] night and day to the observing of the enemy's

dispositions and the forming of plans; nor did any great while elapse ere the latter were brought to bear in a manner not less satisfactory to the states than creditable to their deviser.

The hostile armies lay at this time within four or five English miles of each other, the one spreading along the right bank of the Waal, the other over the left bank of the Rhine. Two roads of ordinary communication between Nimeguen and Arnheim led directly from camp to camp; the one a narrow and elevated causeway, the other broader and sunken amid swamps. They were both hemmed in by woods and marshes, the latter of which were in winter impassable; and they united into one at the distance of about half a mile from the head-quarters of the Dutch camp. It had not escaped the observation of De Vere, that the enemy appeared particularly jealous of the command of these roads; not a patrol could be sent out from prince Maurice's lines which they failed to beat back; and more than once their cavalry had pursued the fugitives up to the very outposts. De Vere proposed to turn this jealousy to good account; and having explained his scheme to the general in chief, and received his highness's sanction, he proceeded without delay to carry it into execution.

Something more than half way between the two camps, the lower and more circuitous road was bisected by a stream, across which a bridge was thrown; on either side, the thickets were more than ordinarily close, furnishing admirable cover for infantry, at the same time that they were wholly impervious to horse. Towards this post De Vere led his English division, consisting of 1200 foot and 500 cavalry; and having reached it a little before dawn, he distributed his people as follows: — One half of the infantry he halted in a woody fen a quarter of a mile in rear of the bridge, the other half he threw into the coverts on each side of the bridge itself; while the whole of the cavalry, with the exception of 200 of the best mounted, he drew up on the road in communication with his more remote ambuscade. These 200 light horse,

again, were sent on with orders to drive back the enemy's cavalry pickets upon the main guard of infantry, and then, after securing as many prisoners as possible, to retire: if promptly followed, they were to come in at speed; if otherwise, they were to march at a foot pace; making in either case no halt till they should have passed the most forward of the concealed battalions. All this, it will be seen, was done under the expectation that the enemy would follow the retreating horsemen with cavalry alone, of whom, cooped up in a narrow lane between two bodies of pikemen, and mowed down from either flank by a musketry fire, a very satisfactory account might be given; but De Vere was not so blinded by his own hopes or wishes as to leave other precautionary measures neglected. He felt that the enemy might take him in his own snare, were the elevated causeway left unguarded: he therefore requested prince Maurice to occupy the post of junction in force; while he himself stood ready, in the event of his troopers returning unpursued, to fall back without delay upon his support.

In every respect the event justified these soldier-like calculations. De Vere's cavalry returned at a foot pace; and, without the loss of a moment, he broke up from his ambuscade, and marched back to the spot where the two roads met. He had just time to throw his infantry under the screen of some brushwood considerably in advance of prince Maurice's line, when certain videttes came galloping from the front with intelligence that a large body of the duke of Parma's horse were advancing. Prince Maurice had brought to the front about 800 cavaliers, full of courage, and anxious to exhibit their prowess. These no sooner heard of the approach of the enemy, than they set all subordination at defiance, and in direct opposition to the entreaties both of De Vere and of their own chief, they rushed forward to meet them. As they passed in great confusion, De Vere observed to his officers, "that they would return faster than they went:" nor was he deceived in this anticipation. Their fierce but disorderly charge being met by men not less brave,

and more steady than themselves, totally failed; and in ten minutes they came pouring back, "with the enemy at their heels laying on them." Though vexed at the partial frustration of his plan, De Vere made no delay in retrieving the fortune of the day. The enemy were permitted to continue the pursuit till their impetuosity carried them within a few feet of the infantry, when, on a given signal, both musketeers and pikemen furiously assailed them. Their loss, in the space of a few moments, was tremendous; indeed, the mere fragments of this his choicest cavalry corps ever returned to the duke of Parma's camp. The result of this skirmish (for such alone in these days would it be reckoned) affected the duke of Parma with serious alarm. Upwards of 500 of his best men were taken, besides several officers of rank and distinction; while the enterprising spirit in which the affair had originated, appeared to him capable of executing other and still more daring devices. He instantly raised the siege; and passing the Waal a few miles above Nimeguen, retreated "with more dishonour than in any action that he had undertaken in these warres."

From the year 1591, when the above exploit was performed, up to 1596, there is a blank in the personal history of sir Francis de Vere. All that we know concerning him is, that in 1592 he was elected member of parliament for the borough of Leominster; but whether he devoted any portion of his time to the discharge of his duties as a statesman, our researches have not enabled us to ascertain. Judging from the character of the man, however, we are inclined to believe that so long as there was honour to be acquired in the field, no consideration whatever would induce him to abandon it; and hence we lean to the opinion that he took a share in all the varied operations which went on throughout this interval in the Low Countries. Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that he still continued in the service of the states; and that when the celebrated expedition against Cadiz was determined on by Elizabeth's ministers, he

was recalled from the Low Countries for the purpose of joining it.

Every reader of history is aware that, in the month of March, 1596, the archduke Albert, cardinal of Austria, who had succeeded to the government of the Spanish Netherlands, under the pretence of raising the siege of La Fere, sat down, after a sudden and unexpected march, with 15,000 men, before Calais. Alarmed by the prospect which the reduction of that place held out, Elizabeth exhibited every inclination to succour it; though her extreme desire to re-annex it to the English crown induced her to stipulate with the French monarch for terms to which he scorned to accede. The consequence was, that a good deal of unnecessary delay occurred; and that De Vere, who had been commanded to carry a squadron filled with troops to Boulogne, whence he was to proceed with reinforcements to Calais, reached his place of rendezvous only in time to learn that the citadel had already surrendered. Upon this, sir Francis crossed the channel to Dover, where he found a numerous fleet waiting for a fair wind, in order to proceed against some point on the coast of Spain.

The expedition in question originated, as every body knows, in the suggestions of lord Howard of Effingham, high admiral of England. Holding at nought the timid policy which prompted his mistress to husband her resources for defensive war, he urged the prudence as well as the glory of attacking the enemy in his own ports; and he at length succeeded, in spite of the opposition of Burleigh, in wringing from Elizabeth a reluctant consent. Fifteen thousand men were accordingly directed to assemble at Plymouth, for the conveyance of which a fleet of 150 sail was prepared, and to the command of each department some of the most illustrious officers of the day were set apart. Lord Howard himself, assisted by sir Walter Ralegh, assumed the guidance of the fleet; the land forces were headed by the gallant earl of Essex; while sir Francis de Vere was nominated to the rank of lieutenant-general, with the proud title of lord

Martial. It is characteristic of the age, however, when as yet the distinctions between the two services were little recognised, that the generals commanded not only single ships, but whole squadrons; and that the admirals claimed, as their natural right, to direct the movements of the troops on shore. Thus we find Essex, when afloat, assuming the guidance of a squadron; De Vere acting as vice-admiral under him; while Ralegh was prevailed upon, though not without considerable difficulty, to take rank even in the army only below De Vere.

These arrangements being completed, the fleet weighed anchor; Essex taking his passage in the ship of the lieutenant-general, that he might profit by the conversation of one whose knowledge in military matters stood, as it deserved to stand, at the highest. Two days' sailing carried them only to Rye; a tedious and very inconvenient navigation; because the troops, though doubtless assembled, could not be expected to be in a state for immediate service, seeing that there were no experienced officers on the spot to prepare them. To hinder the necessity of further delay after the fleet should have arrived at the place of rendezvous, De Vere was landed here. He hastened by the shortest route to Plymouth; and used such diligence in training and providing for the comforts of the men, that when the day of embarkation came, every thing like bustle was avoided. Nor was this all: while the embarkation went on, sir Francis persuaded the commander in chief to draw up a written code of regulations, by which all questions touching precedency should be determined; and every officer, no matter what his rank might be, furnished with an infallible guide to his duty.

On the 10th of June this powerful armament put to sea, and on the 1st of July arrived at the mouth of Cadiz bay. The shipping cast anchor as close to the promontory of St. Sebastian as the shoal water would allow, and immediately swung their boats overboard with the avowed intention of landing. After a good

deal of consultation, however, during which the generals assembled in one ship, the admirals in another, and sir Walter Ralegh passed to and fro between them, it was finally determined that the entrance to the bay should first of all be forced, and the Spanish fleet, which to the number of 50 sail lay across, be driven from its moorings. De Vere, eager to lead the way on one element as he had ever done on the other, instantly cut his cable. The whole of that night he beat off and on, seldom passing beyond long gun-shot from the enemy; and hence, when the signal to engage was made on the following morning, no man obeyed it more promptly than he. We cannot pause to describe an action, the details of which belong rather to the naval than the military history of England: it is sufficient to observe, that it ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards; and that, in contributing to the accomplishment of that end, De Vere exhibited the same reckless gallantry which distinguished him on all similar occasions.

Many of the enemy's vessels being driven on shore, some burnt, and some taken, it was determined by the generals to leave the remainder to the disposal of the seamen; while they themselves, at the head of their land forces, should disembark. The landing is quaintly but graphically described by De Vere in his Commentaries: — "On the right hand, in an even front, with a competent distance betwixt the boats, were ranged the two regiments first named *, the other three † on the left; so that every regiment and company of men were sorted together with their colonels and chief officers in nimble pinnaces, some in the head of the boats, some at stern, to keep good order. The general himself, with his boat, in which it pleased him to have me attend him, and some other boatful of gentlemen adventurers and choice men to attend his person, moved a pretty distance before the rest, whom at a signal given with a drum from his boat, the rest were to follow according to the measure

* Essex's regiment and his own.

† Those of sir Christopher Blunt, sir Thomas Gerrard, and sir Conniers Clifford.

and time of the sound of the said drum, which they were to observe in the dashing of their oars; and to that end there was a general silence, as well of warlike instruments as otherwise: which order being duly followed, the troops came altogether to the shore and were landed, and several regiments embattled at an instant without any encounter at all; the Spaniards, who the day before had showed themselves with troops of horse and foot on that part as resolved to impeach our landing being clear, returned towards the town."

The point at which this disembarkation was effected is described by De Vere as "lying between Puntal and Cadiz;" in other words, the troops made good their landing a mile and a half to the eastward of the city, and half that distance from the narrow neck of land which connects one portion of the Isle of Leon with the other. The town being strongly fortified with walls, which extended from sea to sea, and not more than 2000 men having as yet gained the shore, it was deemed imprudent to attempt any thing further than the occupation of a convenient ground on which to establish an encampment. But as the column advanced into the interior, a bolder policy was adopted, of which De Vere is confessed on all hands to have been the instigator. Perceiving crowds of people — some on foot, others on horseback — to pass from the island into the town, by a road which skirted the opposite side of the promontory, De Vere suggested the propriety of cutting off this line of communication by occupying the tongue with a portion of the English troops. Essex, without a moment's delay, followed the recommendation. Sir Conniers Clifford, at the head of three regiments, was despatched on this service; while the rest, amounting in all to something less than 1000 men, drew on with Essex and De Vere at their head.

As they approached, the Spaniards were seen ranged in battle array without the ditch, "with cornets and ensigns displayed, and thrusting out some loose horse and foot, as it were, to provoke a skirmish." No ex-

pectation had hitherto been nourished that a place of such importance could be reduced, except by the regular process of siege; but De Vere, so soon as he "marked their fashion," conceived hope of a speedier gaining the town than they intended. "These men," said he to lord Essex, "now standing in battel before the ditch, will show and make the way for us into the town this night, if they be well handled;" and the mode of "handling them well" he was not slow in propounding. The entire management of the business was in consequence committed to him; and the perfect success which attended his manœuvres afforded the best testimony to the judgment in which they originated.

The approach to Cadiz in this direction was then, and to a certain extent continues still, to lead through the midst of a succession of sandy hillocks, well adapted to the purpose of concealing small bodies of troops, though quite inadequate to mask the movements of large columns. De Vere told off his little corps into three divisions: one consisting of 200, another of 300, and the third of 400 or perhaps 500 men. The first, led on by sir John Wingfield, was directed to push boldly upon the Spaniards, and to engage them in a hasty skirmish; the second, under the orders of sir Matthew Morgan, was commanded to follow the advance at a moderate interval, but not on any account whatever to close to its front till the convenient moment should arrive; while the third and last, acting entirely as a reserve, was kept well in hand, under the immediate guidance of Essex and De Vere. When each officer had fully learned his part, the advanced guard, if it may be so termed, pushed on. They were immediately and furiously attacked, as De Vere had anticipated; and retreating in apparent confusion, drew the Spaniards after them till they reached a little hillock behind which Morgan lay concealed. Instantly Morgan's corps charged; upon which the garrison, like men taken by surprise, fled with a degree of precipitation which rendered them quite incapable of rallying even under the guns of the town: they plunged into the

ditch, which, though deep and wide, was dry; they scrambled as they best could up the face of the unscarped rampart, and they were promptly followed in both movements by the English, to whom the probability of such an occurrence had been distinctly explained. In the mean time the reserve, moving briskly forward, had thrown themselves likewise into the fosse. While a portion aided their comrades in scaling the main wall, a small but select band, under an officer of tried courage, moved silently along the ditch till they came to a place destitute of guards, though more than ordinarily accessible. Through this they made good their entrance; and advancing boldly towards the scene of action, they speedily cleared the rampart of its defenders. Pell-mell the assailants now rushed in; all order and control was lost on one side as well as on the other; and the battle raged hand to hand from one street to another, till the market-place was finally gained.

Of this inevitable consequence to an assault thus conducted, De Vere had not been regardless. With the coolness and discretion which gave a tone to his bravery, he had hitherto kept aloof, holding about himself a compact band of 300 men: he now moved these forward in dense array; and meeting stragglers only, he bore down all opposition even where the weight of numbers was decidedly against him. He stormed and took the town hall, into which a considerable body of the garrison had thrown themselves; he compelled a still more numerous force to surrender in the abbey of St. Francis; and he so alarmed a battalion which had shut themselves up in fort St. Philip, that they agreed, when summoned, to open the gates. Thus by his good conduct was a conquest secured, the first attainment of which may he traced to his gallantry; for, except the battalion which immediately followed himself, there were not, within ten minutes from the assault, forty men in one mass throughout the entire compass of the city.

Of the praiseworthy forbearance exercised on this occasion by the conquerors, — a virtue the more to be

commended, because in those days it was rare,—there are few of our readers who can be ignorant. A contribution was, indeed, levied upon the inhabitants, and a considerable booty acquired, chiefly by the plunder of public property; but not a single life was taken in cold blood, nor had a single female to complain that she had suffered violence or insult from an English soldier. The women were, on the contrary, sent under a guard to a place of safety; while the men, after giving security for their ransom, were, to the number of 5000 or 6000, dismissed. A difference of opinion now arose among the leaders of the English host, touching the uses to which their victory ought to be turned. De Vere insisted upon the good policy of retaining the town, and offered with 4000 men to defend it against all the power of Spain *: but his opinion was over-ruled; and it was determined in the end to withdraw, after burning the houses, and, as far as might be practicable, dismantling the walls. Cadiz was in consequence reduced to a heap of ashes; and the artillery, with as many stores as were judged worthy of removal, being carried on board of ship, the troops leisurely re-embarked. †

While the land forces were thus acquiring both honour and profit, the seamen, by some strange oversight, permitted the enemy to set fire to a fleet of richly laden galleys, which they had previously run on shore. Chagrined at the maladventure, the admiral now proposed that the armament should cruise in search of the West India fleet, the arrival of which on the coast of Spain might be hourly expected; but a scarcity of provisions, to which all ma-

* By our historians in general, the desire of keeping Cadiz is almost invariably attributed to Essex Perhaps his sentiments might accord with those of De Vere; but that the proposal to hold the place, as stated in the text, came from De Vere, and from him alone, we have the best authority for asserting. See his *Commentaries*, p 42.

† Cadiz, though garrisoned by upwards of 5000 men, was taken by less than 1000, for the second division did not arrive till all opposition had ceased; and Conniers' corps, having marched too far to the rear, came not up till late next day Sir Francis de Vere informs us that "he got three prisoners on the occasion worth 10,000 ducats; one a churchman and president of the contradutation of the Indies, the others two ancient knights." The practice by which individuals were permitted to ransom their own prisoners was not as yet, therefore, abandoned.

ritime expeditions were then cruelly liable, compelled the generals to refuse their assent. It was, therefore, arranged that they should steer for England; but that they should not neglect any favourable opportunity which might offer, while passing along the coast, to harass and distress the enemy. In accordance with this arrangement, a descent took place in the bay below Ferrol; and the town, as well as the whole country adjacent, suffered military execution. An attempt was made to perform a like exploit in a district adjoining; but the wind blowing violently on shore, it was abandoned, and the homeward voyage undertaken in earnest. Finally, about the middle of August, the troops disembarked at the Downs, near Sandwich, and were, after the fashion of the times, when standing armies were unknown, immediately disbanded. De Vere's regiments, which he had brought with him from the Low Countries, being sent back to their original station; the remainder, which had been gathered together for this expedition alone, were dismissed to their own homes.

Having spent some of the winter months at court,—an event of rare occurrence in the life of this gallant soldier,—De Vere returned to the Low Countries; where he was scarcely established, when he received the queen's commands to repair to England. A new expedition for the capture of the Spanish West India fleet had been resolved upon; and De Vere was invited to lend the aid of his talents towards the accomplishment of so desirable an undertaking. His treatment on this occasion was not, however, such as an officer of his experience and character might have fairly expected. In the attack upon Cadiz he had served as lieutenant-general,—an office to which the honorary distinction of lord marshal was usually attached: he now found that lord Mountjoy had received the former appointment; whether by the express desire of the queen, or the solicitations of Essex, he was left to form his own conjecture. De Vere conducted himself under the slight,—for such it unquestionably was,—in the best spirit of loyalty and pa-

triotism. Disdaining to hide his sentiments from Essex, he declined the empty dignity of marshal, which the latter, as a salve to his wounded pride, would have thrust upon him; and, without concealing that he felt himself aggrieved, offered to serve in any station to which his sovereign might appoint him. From that time all cordiality between the two generals ceased. They acted together, it is true, in their public capacities; and, as far as external civilities were concerned, no change in their mutual deportment might be perceived; but they no longer conversed, as they formerly had done, with freedom, nor was the slightest confidence ever afterwards displayed between them.

On the 9th of July, 1597, this celebrated expedition quitted Plymouth, with a naval force which comprehended not less than 150 sail, and an army amounting to full 8000 men. Its avowed object was, first the destruction of the Spanish marine, whether at anchor in Corunna bay, or scattered elsewhere along the coast; and, secondly, as we have already stated, the capture of the West India squadron, of which the arrival might at this season be daily anticipated. But from the commencement to the end of the enterprise, misfortunes, and misfortunes alone, attended it. In latitude 46° a storm arose, which utterly dispersed the fleet, compelling the several captains to bear back, each as he best could, to Plymouth. There the exhaustion of his stores induced the general to discharge the whole of the troops, with the exception of a thousand men whom De Vere had brought over from the Low Countries; while an entire month elapsed ere a calm, which succeeded the tempest, would permit them to put to sea. Nor did the mischief end here. When the elements became propitious, it was found that discord had arisen among the heads of departments; some insisting upon the completion of their original scheme, others urging the superior utility of an attack upon the Spanish West India settlements. At last, after a full month had been wasted, it was resolved not to hazard, in a distant voyage, an armament

which all parties felt to be the reverse of immoderately furnished. The safety of England, likewise, could not, it was contended, be duly provided for, were this, the main fleet of the realm, removed to a distance; and hence it was finally settled that the original design should be pursued, with a reversion, if we may so express ourselves, in favour of another. Should matters fall out unpropitiously on the north coast of Spain, the Azores might be visited, where the chances were at least equal that the devoted squadron would be intercepted at its customary anchorage.

A second time the fleet set sail; and, as if fortune had decreed that from the very outset the voyage should bring difficulties along with it, the ship in which Essex took his passage sprung a leak. With infinite labour it was stopped, though not till sir Walter Ralegh's division had separated from the rest; while, before a re-union could be effected, the whole of the north of Spain was alarmed, and the shipping and forts along the coast placed in a posture of defence. It was now resolved to bear up at once for the Azores; but the same evil fortune which attended them elsewhere, continued to baffle them. The Spanish fleet actually arrived in the midst of the cluster of islands, while the British squadron was scattered here and there, for the purpose of refreshment, and found shelter in the harbour of Terceira ere an effective pursuit could be attempted. De Vere, indeed, with three other captains, hung upon their rear, cannonading rather for the purpose of warning their friends than annoying their enemies: but one vessel only, a small frigate laden with cochineal, fell into the hands of the English.

At the suggestion of De Vere, an attempt was now made to cut out the Spaniards from their anchorage: the boats were, however, discovered, and heavily fired upon from the shore, and drew off without effecting any thing. The idea of landing in force, and taking possession of the works by which the harbour was defended, was next brought forward; but a scarcity of fresh water

induced the general to reject the proposition, at all events till the vessels should have supplied themselves. The fleet accordingly bore up for St. Michael's, leaving only a light squadron to watch the enemy; where, after some hesitation, a disembarkation took place on the beach below Villa Franca. Here De Vere, to whom the command of the land forces was intrusted, found a fresh opportunity to display his skill in the arrangement of a plan, though the folly of his subalterns hindered him from bringing his troops into action, under the favourable circumstances on which he had a right to calculate. After the watering was complete, and all except 500 men were returned to the transports, a sentinel, posted on the top of the church-tower, gave notice that a heavy column was approaching. De Vere immediately detached thirty men to a chapel about half a mile in advance on the Ponto del Gada road. He posted thirty more midway between them and the town; commanding the former to retire upon the latter so soon as they had given a volley, while both should flee in apparent confusion, whenever the enemy showed a disposition seriously to attack them. By this means he expected to draw the enemy forward to a strong position, which he occupied in and about the town; where, though inferior in point of numbers by six to one, he anticipated a great and almost bloodless victory. Unfortunately, the commanders of the advanced parties so far mistook the spirit of their instructions as to maintain their posts with obstinacy; and the Spaniards, over-rating the strength of their opponents, never advanced beyond the chapel.

Having stood to his arms through the remainder of the day, De Vere began, after dark, to send his people on board the boats; and long before dawn the whole had quitted the land. But no result of importance ensued. Essex would not venture to storm the castle of St. Michael's, though he hovered for some days about the bay; and, at last, a gale arose, which swept the English fleet far to leeward. At the same time the Spaniards, eluding the vessels which watched them, put to sea; and the

expedition, having totally failed to accomplish any thing, returned from whence it set out.

This miserable conclusion, where so much had been anticipated, brought upon Essex one of those bursts of royal displeasure to which, during his short and irregular career, he was periodically subject. His enemies,—and they were both numerous and powerful,—industriously cast upon him the entire blame of the failure; and he was forbidden to show himself at court. De Vere, on the contrary, was received with marked distinction, the queen entering into the particulars of the enterprise with her usual loquacity; but that high-minded soldier disdained to avail himself of the temporary disgrace of his general for the purpose of advancing his own interests. He had purposely declined to visit Essex till after he should have presented himself at court; and he now spoke so boldly in favour of the accused nobleman, that he completely removed the impression which his enemies had made. "This office I performed to his lordship," says he, "to the greeving and bitter incensing of the contrary party against me, when, notwithstanding I had discovered (as is aforesaid) in my reconcilement his lordship's coldnesse of affection to me, and had plainly told my lord himself mine own resolution, in which I still persisted, not to follow his lordship any more in the warres; yet to make a full return as I could for the good favour the world supposed his lordship bore me, fearing more to incurre the opinion of ingratitude than the malice of any enemies, how great soever, which the delivery of truth could procure me."

De Vere's honourable conduct in this matter failed not to bring along with it a just reward. At his own entreaty,—feebly supported, indeed, by the interests of Cecil, who, though personally hostile to Essex, could not but admire the generous bearing of his advocate,—he was appointed to the government of Brille, whither, in the month of September, he removed, with the rank of general of the queen's forces employed in the Low Countries.

De Vere had resided at Brille something more than two months, when the careless position of one of the enemy's corps, which, to the number of 5000 men of all arms, occupied the open town of Turnhoult, induced him to propose a plan for its destruction. The proposition was well received by the states; and prince Maurice, being instructed to carry the design into execution, issued orders for the prompt assembling of an army. To complete the numbers requisite, he was compelled to withdraw largely from the garrisons of Brille, Flushing, and other places along the coast: nevertheless the movements of the several detachments were so well timed, and the secret so faithfully kept, that 6000 infantry, with 1000 horse, reached Gertrundenburgh from different quarters almost at the same moment. That night sufficed for the general distribution of the troops into battalions. Sir Francis de Vere and sir Robert Sidney—the one governor of Brille, the other of Flushing—agreed to divide the English contingent between them; and the following morning, by early dawn, the whole army began its forward movement.

The troops marched all day, and arrived a little before dark within a league of Turnhoult. Here they halted, having ascertained from their scouts that the enemy were still ignorant of their approach; and here the plan of operations was finally settled. It was arranged that the honour of leading the van should be assigned to the English, strengthened by the addition of prince Maurice's guards and a few select companies of Dutch; that the advance should take place as soon as daylight returned; that the town, if still in the occupation of the enemy, should be first bombarded, and then stormed; but that, in all other respects, the assailants should be guided by circumstances. "The night was very cold," says De Vere, "and the men being generally without cover, a good deal of suffering was endured." In modern times this would have been accounted inevitable, seeing that the possibility of a surprise was contemplated; and De Vere appears to have strongly urged

the wisdom of subjecting the troops to temporary inconvenience, rather than run any risk of discovery: but count Maurice himself, going up and down the quarter with straw and such other blazing stuff, made fires in some places with his own hands, by the corps de gard." It was a rash action, for the example once set by the general, was, as might have been expected, followed by the men. The horizon became speedily illuminated by the blaze of numerous fires; and the knowledge that danger was at hand at once passed to the enemy. The result was in no respect at variance from what might have been anticipated. When the army arrived next morning within cannon-shot of Turnhoult, prince Maurice found that the enemy had been in movement all night; and that their baggage, as well as the mass of their force, being already withdrawn, the rear guard were even now filing from the place. There remained but one course to be pursued. The advance was sent forward at a brisk pace, with orders to harass the retreat as much as possible; while the main body followed, with the somewhat visionary intention of taking advantage of any opportunity that might occur.

There was no needless delay in acting up to their instructions exhibited by the leaders of the advanced guard. They pushed forward with great alacrity, marched through the town, and hung upon the heels of the retreating column, till they reached a point where the enemy seemed disposed to make at least a temporary stand. About two miles from Turnhoult, in the direction of Herentalls, a stream crosses the road, the channel of which is soft and muddy, and its depth of water considerable. It was traversed by a bridge of planks, too narrow to permit more than one man to pass at a time; while the opposite bank was covered with underwood, and otherwise exceedingly defensible. Here the enemy's rear guard suddenly halted, and, lining the margin of the river, opened a fire on De Vere, which for a time checked his farther progress. The English general sent immediately to the rear for an additional body of mus-

keteers, of whom 900 were promptly afforded: he then closely reconnoitred the stream; and finding that the only practicable ford lay at a great distance from the highway, he determined at all hazards to force the bridge. For this purpose, he commenced a brisk tiraillade from one bank of the stream to the other, under cover of which a few resolute men drew on. They advanced at first cautiously, and one by one, sheltering themselves as they best could behind such bushes and stunted trees as feathered their own position; till, having reached the extremity of the bridge and collected together, they prepared for the grand rush. It was executed with singular boldness, and perfect success; for the opposite bank was won with the loss of three men killed, and six or seven wounded.

Into a half-finished redoubt, which he found about 100 yards from the bank, De Vere instantly threw his infantry, while he caused his cavalry to pass by a ford lower down, which was not defended. This done, he put himself at the head of a few mounted attendants; and pursuing at a round trot, soon descried the enemy's rear guard in full retreat, but in excellent order. They marched leisurely and in masses, halting from time to time, as if for the purpose of securing the progress of their wagons, till they disappeared amid the windings of a narrow path, hemmed in on either hand by brushwood. De Vere saw that now was his time to act, or never. He ordered up his 200 musketeers, whom he scattered among the cover on both flanks; while he himself, with seventeen or eighteen horsemen (the whole of his cavalry force), occupied the high road. A sharp skirmish immediately began, which lasted without intermission during the space of not less than four hours.

While thus warmly engaging the enemy, who continued their retreat, first through the narrow lane, and then across a wide moor, De Vere sent repeated and urgent messages to prince Maurice, pointing out, that if he failed in bringing on a general action soon, the opportunity of so doing would be taken away. So long as

the line of march lay through an enclosed country, even De Vere's feeble advanced guard did some execution. The fire of the musketeers reached to the column of pikemen ; and his little squadron appearing from time to threaten a charge, induced the enemy, by whom their numbers were unknown, to make occasional halts and formations. Now, however, the case was different. They had gained a heath, which measured six miles in length, by three or something more than three in width : over this not a tree nor a shrub flourished ; and here De Vere could not hope to produce the smallest impression, by a display of his weakness, rather than of his strength. He could only send his "shots" round the skirts of the open plain, among some tall trees by which it was bounded, directing them to keep up their fire rather as a signal to their friends than for any other purpose ; while with his handful of horse he rode as near to the closing files of the enemy as a due attention to his own safety would allow.

The enemy, who had hitherto laboured under an impression that they were followed by a heavy column both of horse and foot, no sooner beheld how the case stood, than they assumed an attitude of perfect confidence. They formed their infantry into thick masses, covering each flank with their cavalry, and so marched on without paying the slightest heed to De Vere's repeated demonstrations. In this order the retreat was continued till rather more than half the moor had been traversed, when sixteen troops of Dutch horse showed themselves advancing at "a good round pace," considerably to the right, as it were coasting the skirts of the plain. The enemy became again seriously alarmed; they quickened their pace, and had well nigh gained the extremity of the heath, when De Vere, who knew that the only chance of victory lay in attacking them ere they could screen themselves in an enclosed country, encouraged his people to fresh exertions. They closed rapidly upon the devoted infantry, whom their own horse forsook: some squadrons gained their flank, some

hung upon their rear; and all, at a signal given, charged them. The musketeers, after a harmless because an irregular fire, broke and fled: the pikemen stood firm only to be mowed down by "long pistols delivered at hand," or, so soon as an opening had been made, to receive their death wounds from the broadswords of the troopers. Upwards of 2000 men were cut to pieces, and the remainder escaped by taking refuge among the woods, which they had almost gained, when the cavalry were let loose upon them.

Every person acquainted with the events of actual warfare knows, that to restrain from the ardour of a disorderly pursuit squadrons which have just broken a body of infantry, is of all the tasks imposed upon an officer the most difficult. De Vere, having thus annihilated the enemy's foot, entreated and conjured his cavalry to halt,—pointing out to them that the enemy's horse were entire, and that if charged in their turn, while destitute of order, nothing could save them. His commands and entreaties were alike unavailing. There was a narrow lane, opening at either end upon an extensive common, down which multitudes of the routed pikemen had fled. Into it the Dutch cavalry plunged with a total absence of consideration, cutting and slashing on either hand, or trampling under foot the helpless fugitives. De Vere foresaw the result which actually befell. He therefore gathered round him three weak troops of English cavalry, with which he prepared to support the disorganised Dutch; moving at some distance in rear of the throng, and halting on a green plot "just in the mouth of the streight." He had not long stood here, both the fugitives and the pursuers having passed from his sight into the plain beyond, when a renewed clattering of horses' hoofs, and a loud and fearful outcry, gave evidence that the crisis was at hand. In a moment afterwards the Dutch came galloping to the rear, the enemy sweeping them down by whole squadrons; indeed, so fearful was the confusion, that though De Vere did his best to bring his reserve into play, it

was fairly borne back with the throng. All order, all discipline, were now lost. In one confused mass, the cavalry so lately victorious were driven through the lane; and De Vere with his companions, carried away by the torrent, fairly fled with the rest. But the chase was not continued far upon the moor. The Dutch infantry, which had hitherto taken no part in the action, coming up in dense array, the enemy drew off, and the broken squadrons were once more re-formed in the intervals between the pikemen. Nevertheless, no effective pursuit was attempted. Prince Maurice's horsemen, stiff with recent exertions, and certainly not rendered more forward by the result of their last struggle, proved unequal to a very rapid march; and the enemy were in consequence enabled to escape to Herentalls, without suffering any additional loss.

As it was not intended to keep the field at this inclement season of the year, prince Maurice immediately retraced his steps to Turnhoult, the castle of which, where the enemy had left a garrison, surrendered on the first summons. Next day the troops fell back upon Gertrudenberg, where the army being broken up, the several detachments returned to their respective garrisons. But before the two English leaders separated, an event befell, illustrative of the fact, that the disposition to claim to themselves a degree of merit which justly belongs to others is not peculiar to warriors of modern times. "To accompany sir Robert Sidney," says De Vere, "who took the next way to his government, I went with him to Williamstadt, where I did on my part truly and sincerely touching the other circumstances of the service, and very friendly when I made mention of him, and gave him my letters to read, and to one of his captains to deliver in England; but my letters were held back, and his delivered, which were far more partially written; which art of doublenesse changed the love I had so long borne him into a deep dislike that could not be soon digested."

The battle of Turnhoult was fought in the winter of

1597. In the January following, De Vere returned to England, where he frequently presented himself at court. He seems, however, to have been but an indifferent flatterer; at least, we find him this summer deprived of a pension of 10*l.* a day, in spite of his own best exertions, aided by those of Essex, to avert the misfortune. But, as if to make amends for such treatment, he was appointed governor of Plymouth, and soon afterwards sent as ambassador to the states, for the purpose of entering with them into a new treaty, which the conclusion of peace between France and Spain rendered necessary. It were foreign to the design of this sketch, did we pause to detail at length his mode of proceeding on this occasion. Let it suffice to state, that he successfully encountered and overcame many difficulties; and that he continued to reside at the Hague, till the threat of an invasion induced his royal mistress to recall him for the defence of his native country.

De Vere arrived in London on the 23d of April, 1599, where he remained till every apprehension of danger had subsided. It was then proposed that he should proceed to Ireland in the capacity of lord deputy; but the hostility of sir Robert Sidney (of the origin of which some notice has been taken), and the feuds which existed between the factions of Essex and Cecil, stood effectually in the way of his promotion. He accordingly returned to the Hague, not more with the view of resuming his command in the Low Countries, than for the purpose of expostulating with the states against certain wrongs which they had imprudently put upon him. Not satisfied with reducing the numerical strength of his regiment, these calculating functionaries had thought fit to withhold a large proportion of the pay to which both he and his soldiers were entitled. A severe altercation ensued, which had well nigh brought about an open rupture, ending, as such an occurrence must have done, in his retirement from the service. Happily for the interests of the states, this last and most distressing result was avoided. The arrears being made good, De

Vere consented to overlook the not less serious ground of quarrel which had been afforded him in the uncalled-for and short-sighted diminution of his well trained companions, and returned with all zeal and diligence to the discharge of his military duties.

We have not been able to ascertain how De Vere spent his time during the winter of 1599. It is highly probable that he resided on his government of Brille; but in the summer following, when prince Maurice led his celebrated expedition into Flanders, our countryman was again in the field. Of the progress of that armament, as well as of the operations in which it engaged, De Vere has left on record a very ample detail; from which, not less than from other resources, we gather the following particulars.

In the month of September, 1599, the archduke Albert, with his consort the infanta Isabella, arrived in Brussels to assume the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands, to which they had recently been appointed. Though their entrance into the capital was attended with great magnificence, no great while elapsed ere the affairs of the realm began to wear an unpromising aspect. Prince Maurice, availing himself of a winter more than ordinarily severe, surprised the town of Wauchtendenck, as well as the forts of Crevecœur and St. Andrew in the island of Bommel. This, however, was the least alarming of the events which occurred to perplex them. A violent mutiny broke out in their army, of which a large proportion was made up of mercenaries; and the archduke being without funds from which to satisfy their demands, things threatened to arrive shortly at a crisis.

Encouraged by a report of the enemy's weakness, and strongly reinforced from France, the states resolved to hazard an offensive war in Flanders, with the twofold design of securing themselves from the risk of invasion, and recovering, if such should prove practicable, the seaport towns which had been wrested from them. Many consultations were held, not only as to the general propriety of this measure, but as to the best method of at-

tempting its accomplishment: to these De Vere was uniformly summoned; and while almost all his brother chiefs, with prince Maurice among the number, spoke of the expedition as of light accomplishment, he, and he alone, held a more sober, and, therefore, a more rational tone of argument. Despair he never did: on the contrary, he regarded the matter as attainable, provided due caution and diligence were exercised; but he held at nought the reasonings of those who affected to treat the affairs of the archduke as desperate, or looked to the mutiny in the royal ranks as an event which fought the battle for the patriots. While he cordially agreed in the wisdom of effecting this diversion, he ceased not to assert that, within fourteen days from their arrival in Flanders, Albert would be prepared to give them battle; and though his opinions were discredited, and by some even ridiculed at the moment, the result proved that they had been formed on the most sound calculations.

Matters being thus far arranged, an army, which consisted of 12,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, with the customary proportion of cannon, assembled, about midsummer, 1600, in the island of Walcheren. The troops embarked here with the avowed intention of landing at Ostend; but contrary winds carried them to Zealand, and they ultimately disembarked near a little port called the Philippines, in the river Scheldt. Here the different general officers were formally appointed to their commands; and De Vere being placed at the head of 1600 English and 2500 Frison infantry, with ten cornets or about 500 horse, the army began its march without delay. Their first effort was to obtain possession of Bruges, where they had been given to understand that they had many partisans who would join them; they, therefore, followed the route by Ecceloo; but being disappointed in these hopes, they pushed for Aldenburgh. It was abandoned by the enemy on their approach; and the states, who had thus far accompanied the army, taking up their residence at Ostend, prince Maurice made haste to form the siege of Nieuport.

While moving towards this important place, prince Maurice, with great judgment, followed a circuitous route, in order that he might make himself master of several strong castles which commanded the principal approaches. These he took and garrisoned; after which he threw bridges over the numerous dykes and canals by which the whole level is traversed, thus facilitating his future means of communication with the country in his rear. Finally, after a vain attempt to descend through the swamps on both sides adjoining the river, he crossed, and, turning to the right, took up a position among the sand-hills near Nieuport. From this point it was esteemed an easy task to complete the investment at pleasure. The river being fordable at ebb tide immediately below the town, the infantry could pass without any obstruction, while the erection of a bridge would enable the stores and guns to be crossed at all seasons free from hazard or interruption.

Ground was not yet broken, nor were the outposts of the garrison driven in, when there arrived, both from Ostend and Aldenburgh, information that strong bodies of infantry and cavalry were approaching the last-named place. By prince Maurice, and the majority of his officers, it was fondly believed that the troops in question were not to be feared; that they constituted only a corps of some two or three thousand men, whom general Revas was known to have assembled at Sluys. From the very first, De Vere expressed a different opinion: he concluded that the archduke Albert had taken the field in person; that the circumstance which he had ventured to predict previous to their embarkation would inevitably take place; and hence, that it behoved prince Maurice to detach largely to the support of Aldenburgh, as forming the very key of his present position. This advice was little regarded at the moment; nevertheless that night passed not away without bringing evidence the most conclusive, that in all his calculations De Vere had reasoned justly. The council of war was scarcely broken up ere fresh intelligence came in. Now it was communicated that

the enemy had shown cannon; by and by, that the fort had been summoned in the archduke's name; and, last of all, that it had opened its gates, the governor being permitted to withdraw with arms and baggage. "Thrice that night," says sir Francis, "was I called from my rest on these several alarms, which confirmed me in my former opinion, upon which I still insisted, with this change,—that whereas my first purpose was to stop the enemy's passage under the favour of those forts, now, that occasion lost, we were to march to the hither side of the mouth of the passage ourselves had made through the low grounds, and to occupy the same, which was the shortest and readiest way the enemy had to the downs and seaside."

The patriot army was at this time encamped on the left bank of the river; the enemy were advancing along the right bank, so as to cut off all communication between Maurice and Ostend. The prince's situation was unquestionably very perilous; for should the royalists succeed in throwing themselves between him and his supplies, there remained for him no other resource except a tedious and almost desperate retreat through the French provinces. De Vere's counsel went to obviate this necessity. He recommended that the army should move *en masse*, so as to gain, if possible, without the loss of an hour, the command of the bridge of Leffengen, from which it was still possible that not more than a portion of the archduke's force might have debouched; and that, after destroying that portion, a line should be assumed which would at once keep open their own communications, and straiten the garrison of Nieuport. Prince Maurice highly approved of the project, yet he carried it only partially into effect. In spite of the strong remonstrances of De Vere, he detached count Ernest of Nassau, at the head of 3000 men, of whom 500 were cavalry, with instructions to impede, by every means in their power, the enemy's progress; while he himself proposed to follow, so soon as dawn should arrive, with the rest of the army. It was to no purpose that our

countryman pointed out the heavy risk to which this detached corps must be exposed: they might, doubtless, reach the bridge ere any part of the enemy's army had passed, but they might also find themselves in the presence of his whole force when they least expected it; and should the latter circumstance occur, as there was no sure nor speedy line of retreat, the consequences must be very serious. To all these considerations prince Maurice turned a deaf ear. Count Ernest was sent forward, as has been stated, and but a few hours elapsed ere the worst of De Vere's anticipations became too surely realised.

Of the fate which befel this gallant band, of which no inconsiderable proportion were Scotchmen, a summary account is soon given. They moved from their quarters at midnight, crossed the river by the bridge of communication, and marched with all diligence along the shore; but found that the enemy had already anticipated them, not by a single division, but with their entire army. Count Ernest, far from abandoning himself to despair, drew up his wearied but brave band to the best advantage, near fort Albert. He sustained here a desperate and protracted encounter, both he and his people performing all that skill and valour could perform against an overwhelming superiority of numbers; but he was eventually dislodged, and driven upon Ostend, 800 men being slain on the spot.

Meanwhile the main body of the patriot army got under arms, and at break of day filed towards the river. They were to pass the stream in two columns,—one crossing by the bridge, the other taking the ford near the sea; and of the vanguard of that division which followed the last-mentioned route, De Vere assumed the command. When he arrived at the margin of the river the tide was still ebbing, and the ford, as a necessary consequence, impracticable. In this emergency he rode towards the bridge, for the purpose of consulting with prince Maurice, and receiving from him further orders relative to the measures to be adopted so soon as the

passage should be made good; but ere time was afforded for the adjustment of a single point at issue, information of count Ernest's defeat was received. "This," says De Vere himself, "stroock the general into a dump." He was utterly confounded; and to De Vere's earnest entreaty that he would push his columns across without a moment's delay, he replied only by desiring our countryman to act as he thought most expedient. De Vere needed no more detailed instructions. He galloped back to his own corps, which, though the water was still of a considerable depth, he commanded instantly to cross; and when the men proposed to strip, with the view of keeping their clothes dry, he, in terms not less quaint than energetic, prevented them. "Keep on your clothes," said he: "care not for the wetting of them; for you shall either need none, or have better and drier clothes to sleep in this night."

The river being passed, and the troops formed upon the opposite bank, De Vere put himself at the head of his cavalry, and, leaving the infantry to follow, pushed on for the purpose of reconnoitring. He soon discovered the enemy advancing along the sea-side in excellent order, though still a great way off; and he instantly looked about for a convenient position, in which to give them battle. Like all other celebrated generals, De Vere seems to have been gifted by nature with a ready eye in the selection of ground. On the present occasion he exercised it to admirable purpose; for in the space of less than half an hour his advanced guard was so posted, that the whole front of the line of battle may be said to have been formed.

The face of the country across which the hostile armies moved presented a barren and, in some respects, a peculiar appearance. It consisted of swelling sand-hills, intersected here and there by valleys not dissimilar in their shape to the troughs in a rough sea, bounded on one side by a beach perfectly level, and on the other by an open and arable country. Generally speaking, the breadth of these sand hills was such, that a corps of

12,000 men posted among them must have left exposed either the sands on the left, or the cultivated fields on the right; but there was one point where, by judiciously occupying the most elevated of the heights, both the one and the other of these approaches might be commanded. De Vere saw this allignment, and lost not a moment in seizing it. He distributed his infantry along the summits of the hills in such order, that one company should in no instance obstruct the view of another, yet that each should at once give and receive support from those immediately adjoining, while he arranged his squadrons behind certain lesser eminences, close to the level beach on his left. By these means the outlines, if we may so express ourselves, of the battle field were chalked out, and it remained for the main body, both of horse and foot, to occupy the blanks as they came up.

De Vere had scarcely completed his arrangements when prince Maurice, followed by a numerous staff, arrived upon the ground. He expressed himself well pleased with the steps which had been taken; but put it to the judgment of those around him, whether it would be more prudent to receive or to give the attack. There was but one opinion among the general's attendants, namely, that it behoved him to act on the offensive. A forward movement would at once give courage to their own troops, and strike terror into those of the enemy; whereas, should they hesitate, it was by no means impossible that the archduke, avoiding an action altogether, might fortify himself on the road, and so cut off all communication with Ostend. De Vere again gave his voice in direct opposition to that of the majority. He pointed out the extreme improbability that an army collected in a hurry, as the archduke's unquestionably was, could have brought with it any other supplies than might be needed at the moment; and the still greater improbability that a general of experience would dream of acting upon the resources of an enemy, in a country where he was himself totally destitute of magazines. In this manner he derided the idea that the appearance on their part of over caution would add in any material degree to the courage

of the assailants. Whatever of confidence might be excited by the persuasion that they respected the imperialists, would, he contended, evaporate under the toil of a lengthened march over loose and broken sand-hills; whereas their own people, having time to rest, would be fresh, and ready to effect, in a deliberate manner, any changes of order which the course of the battle might require. Though he stood alone in these opinions, their evident soundness was not lost upon prince Maurice. He determined to accept the battle in the position which De Vere had selected for him, and proceeded to arrange his troops in the best manner that circumstances would allow.

The battalions and squadrons had all been posted upwards of two hours, and the few pieces of artillery which accompanied them were in battery ere the enemy showed any disposition to advance. They had halted so soon as De Vere's corps came in sight, and the advocates of offensive measures began again to urge their neglected arguments. Nor was their tone altered when a sort of countermarch took place, which carried the royalists considerably to the rear, with a marked inclination towards the edge of the cultivated country. Still De Vere held to his original opinion, and the event gave proof that it had not been lightly assumed. At the expiration of something less than two hours more, the royalists were seen to recross the sand-hills in force. By and by they emerged upon the beach, some squadrons of cavalry covering the front, and in a few moments afterwards the skirmishers on both sides were warmly engaged.

The enemy threw out before their cavalry masses a cloud of carabineers, which galled count Lodowick's heavy cuirassiers, and occasioned among them some loss. De Vere requested the young count to lead forward a couple of cornets, and charge them home; adding, that he might retire in case he should be charged in turn, and draw on his pursuers under the muzzles of a battery of cannon; but Lodowick would not obey the

suggestion; he chose rather to fall back, inch by inch, as the enemy approached, till he found himself close upon the first line of infantry. At this moment De Vere gave the preconcerted signal to his own gunners, who opened their fire with such effect, that the whole column of the royalist cavalry broke, and fled in confusion. Again was count Lodowick commanded to charge, and again he disobeyed orders; by which means the enemy were enabled to recover from their panic, and the fate of the day remained undecided. De Vere himself has not scrupled to attribute this conduct to a feeling of jealousy on the part of the count; and the facts of the case appear fully to bear him out in the assertion.

While the enemy's horse were recovering from their dismay, the infantry steadily approached, pushing forward six demicannons with which they replied smartly to the fire of De Vere's guns. Hitherto they had marched in one continuous column along the open strand; but the tide beginning again to flow, they gradually took ground to their left, and were soon lost among the sand-hills. For such a movement De Vere had not failed to make proper dispositions. Though the enemy's evolutions were in a great degree hidden, he had so arranged his troops as that his line could not be assailed at any point except at a disadvantage; and hence, when the royalists emerged from their concealment, in three or four columns of attack, they were every where met with a cross fire of musketry. In a moment the battle raged from one side of the downs to the other. Like all combats which take place in broken ground, it was fierce and irregular, each hillock being stormed and defended with the utmost fury; while the ravines swarmed with tirailleurs, the numbers of which were on both sides continually fed as occasion seemed to require or opportunity offered. With respect to De Vere himself, he took his station on the summit of a sand-hill, which, besides placing him in the very forefront of the battle, enabled him, by its superior elevation, in

some degree to overlook the whole. From this point he issued his orders with the coolness and precision which a familiar acquaintance with active war can alone confer,—whether the matter to be adjusted referred to the repulse of an attack made directly upon himself, or the bringing up of support to some remote company of which he saw the danger.

It were of small benefit, were we to describe how first one hill and then another was attacked, or how the musketeers fired from behind every hollow, while the pikemen pushed in dense array up the slope. It were equally useless to detail the repeated attempts made to penetrate through the valleys by which these hills were intersected. Enough is done, when we state that during some hours all that valour could perform to force De Vere from his position was performed to no purpose. He had chosen his ground with such judgment, that while his skirmishers alone stood exposed to the enemy's fire, every shot from his side plunged into their columns; and hence, though his loss was not trifling, theirs exceeded it fourfold. Though hard pressed, moreover, he had not so much as solicited support, maintaining himself against the whole of the archduke's army with his advanced guard alone; "My design being," says he, "to engage their whole force upon my handful of men, which I employed sparingly, and by piecemeal, and so to spend and waste the enemy, that they should not be able to abide the sight of our other troops when they advanced." In this temper, neither the failure of a charge which his cavalry at length adventured, nor the sight of the royalists on his right flank, which their superior numbers enabled them to turn, induced him to apply for assistance. He contented himself with changing the front of the Frison battalion, and detaching largely to its support.

The enemy, as if resolved to throw their fortune upon one hazard, relaxed from their efforts in other quarters, and came on by the left in prodigious force. They were met by a volley delivered by the Frison musketeers

from their rests, which caused terrible havoc ; and the fire being kept up with great coolness, their ranks were soon deranged. The whole column recoiled, till it found shelter behind the downs; and there breaking up into skirmishing order, the men once more advanced in files. Now, at last, De Vere perceived that the moment was come when the reserve under prince Maurice might act with effect. He sent instantly to the rear, intreating that a forward movement might be made, of which the result could not fail to be as certain as its progress would be free from hazard; indeed, there needed but the launching of a few squadrons, while the royalists were thus scattered, to ensure their absolute annihilation. By some unaccountable misapprehension his request was disregarded ; nor, though repeated by messenger after messenger, did the wished-for support arrive.

In this emergency, and still hoping that the opportunity might not entirely pass unimproved, De Vere quitted his plateau, and, riding down into the hollow where the fiercest battle raged, encouraged his men both by voice and gesture. He was thus employed, when he received a musket ball in the leg; and, within a quarter of an hour, a second shot struck him, which passed through his thigh. Though bleeding profusely, he did not so much as dismount, but continued still to cheer on his people, "doing among them both the office of captain and soldier." At length, however, the weight of numbers began to tell. After an obstinate resistance, the English and Frisons were dislodged; and the advantage of ground being lost, there was no pausing to retreat in order. They fled with the utmost precipitation towards another height, on which two culverins were mounted, and where Horace de Vere, with a small reserve, commanded.

While retiring with the throng, De Vere's horse, which had received during the *mêlée* more than one wound, dropped dead. In this predicament he must have inevitably fallen into the hands of the enemy,—for, besides

that he was stiff with his wounds, the horse lay upon his leg,—had not sir Robert Drury, with the assistance of a servant, dragged him from beneath. The same gentleman placed him on his own horse, and carried him off just as the foremost of the pursuers came up. Yet even now, when bruised and faint with the loss of blood, his presence of mind remained unimpaired. Having instructed his brother to reserve his fire till the enemy appeared on the open sands, he caused the guns to open with a precision which scattered death and dismay in all directions. Just then two troops of cavalry, both of them English, arrived in rear of the height. He commanded them to charge the broken masses; which they performed to the best effect, sweeping round upon them when least expected, and bearing down all opposition. The infantry again took courage at the sight; they resumed the offensive with loud shouts, and in five minutes recovered all the ground from which they had so recently been driven. Nor was prince Maurice any longer backward: he moved his fine army in excellent order to the front; completing, by the bare exhibition of his fresh battalions, a great victory, which the valour of De Vere and his English had won.

The loss of the royalists in this great battle amounted to something more than 3000 men, together with the whole of their artillery, and 120 stand of colours. On the side of the patriots, 800 were slain, of whom almost all were English. The contest itself has justly been regarded as by far the most memorable to which the struggles for Dutch independence gave rise; and the part taken, not in it only, but in the whole campaign, by De Vere, fully entitles him to be placed in the first rank of military commanders. Had his original advice been followed, either Nieuport would have fallen without a battle, or prince Maurice would have fought under circumstances much more favourable than actually attended him. Had his second recommendation been adopted, the destruction of count Ernest would have been avoided. Had his third warning been disregarded, it is highly

probable that prince Maurice would have sustained a severe defeat. In his choice of a battle-field, again, he displayed a degree of skill not often equalled; while his management of the troops during the progress of the strife itself demands our highest praise. There is no rule in war of more universal obligation, nor any, a due attention to which more decidedly marks the great commander, than that as large a portion as possible of an enemy's army shall be engaged at disadvantages with the smallest manageable corps in the force opposed to them. By this means, though a general may subject a few brave men to almost certain destruction, he keeps the mass of his troops at rest, while he wearies and harasses the enemy, expends their ammunition, and disorganises their ranks. How admirably sir Francis de Vere effected this design, the details just given may demonstrate. With something less than 3000 men he kept the whole of the royalists at bay during many hours, compelling them to bring up in succession, and expose to a galling fire, all their reserves; and he so disordered and weakened them by the obstinacy of his resistance, that the bare sight of prince Maurice's division sufficed to turn the scale. We are not, therefore, surprised to learn that, by his own countrymen at least, as well as by the French and German writers, the chief merit of this victory is awarded to him; or that queen Elizabeth, when the facts were stated to her, declared that "she accounted De Vere to be the first captain in Europe."

In the desultory and fruitless operations which followed this victory, sir Francis de Vere took no part. His wounds, which in the heat of action he had neglected, became so troublesome that he was compelled to return immediately to Brill; where, till the necessities of the states again called him forth, he resided in comparative quiet.

Though the siege of Nieuport had been raised, fort Albert dismantled, and Aldenburgh, with other strong holds, left in possession of the royalists, the states, as they still held Ostend, were far from laying aside their

scheme of ultimately reducing the whole of Flanders. With this view they made extensive preparations during the winter of 1600; and early in the following spring despatched sir Francis de Vere to England, for the purpose of enlisting, with the queen's permission, 2000 men under their banners. It had already been announced to him, that while prince Maurice acted on the Rhine, he should command the army in Flanders: he therefore urged his request with all the earnestness which a passionate thirst of glory could inspire. Elizabeth, as her uniform custom was, threw various impediments in his way: nevertheless she at length yielded, and the levy being effected, De Vere announced his readiness to enter, as soon as need be, upon the line of service chalked out for him.

While the states thus meditated a great blow to the power of Spain, the archduke Albert was already in the field; and marching with rapid strides upon Ostend, placed it suddenly in a state of siege. The whole plan of operations devised at the Hague was in consequence thwarted. Dreams of conquest gave place to anticipations of defeat and disaster; and prince Maurice, who had actually invested Bergh, was required to detach, with the utmost expedition, twenty companies of English for the protection of Holland. At the same time De Vere received pressing entreaties that he would hasten his preparations, and come at once to the defence of the beleaguered town; of which, defended by a feeble garrison, and indifferently provided with supplies, the condition was represented as very desperate. De Vere made no delay in obeying these instructions. Leaving his recruits behind, he hurried to Flushing, where eight companies out of the twenty demanded from prince Maurice awaited his arrival; and embarking them on board vessels which had been equipped for the purpose, he set sail for Ostend.

Ostend, originally nothing more than a fishing town of the poorest order, had risen, during the progress of the civil wars, into wealth and importance. Advan-

tageously situated between two navigable estuaries, and connected by canals with places of greater note than itself, it presented facilities for the shelter of fleets and the landing of troops and stores which could not by either party be overlooked. It so happened, that at the breaking out of the troubles, the little fishing town fell into the hands of the patriots. They immediately surrounded it with a pallisade and rampart; and fortifying certain eminences near, rendered it in a short time capable of holding out against a *coup de main*.

As opportunities were afforded them, and the value of the station became day by day more apparent, the states general caused fresh buildings to be erected, till, before long, there arose a new town, greatly surpassing, both in extent and importance, the root from which it sprang. This town extended inland, and was immediately begirt by a ditch open to the tide; by curtains, bastions, a fausse-braie, and other works, of which the value was now understood. Certain islands on the west and south, formed by the confluence of canals and ditches, were next converted into redoubts, and distinguished by the title of the Pouldre and the Quarriers. Detached posts were then fortified, though cut off from the body of the place by impassable rivulets, till, in process of time, the fishing village had grown up into a large and populous as well as defensible city. Surrounded on all sides by water; by the sea on the north, though at a considerable interval; by the Guil or Guillet on the east; by the old passage on the west; and by a countless number of intersections on the south, additionally covered too by its own fossé, into which the tide regularly flowed, Ostend might appear, when the means of attack then in use are considered, to be almost impregnable; yet it was not so. In the first place, the extent of the outworks required a large garrison to occupy them, while the continual interposition of streams and canals rendered it impossible to bring the strength of the garrison to act upon any one given point. Then, again, the heights around it were formidable, as affording

excellent cover to the besiegers, while one part depending on another, the whole might be said to be at the mercy of a single bastion. On the old town, in particular, the maintenance of the new in a great degree depended. Though separated from one another by the lately formed wet ditch, the elevation of the fishing hamlet unavoidably rendered it the key of the modern city; and hence upon the defence of it more than ordinary care had been bestowed. Besides its own rampart and fausse-braie, it was flanked on one angle by the Sandhill fort, by the Porcupine redoubt on another; while Hillmont bastion bore upon it with great exactitude from the rear. It is to be observed, that all these works were so constructed as to command the approach across the western or old channel, from which side it was justly concluded that danger must necessarily threaten.

Such was the place which De Vere found himself all at once called upon to maintain against an army calculated, by the most moderate scale, to exceed 13,000 men.

On the 11th of July, 1601, the armament from Flushing arrived off the coast. They found that the Spaniards were already in possession of both estuaries, and hence that a landing, if effected at all, must take place somewhere within these points on the open beach. De Vere made no delay on account of this mishap. He caused his boats to be hoisted out, put his men and stores on board, and rowed for the beach immediately after nightfall; and though the point of embarkation lay within cannon shot of the enemy's lines, he suffered no serious annoyance during the operation. He marched without loss of time carrying 800 English veterans along with him into the town, where the governor, with 1600 Flemings, immediately placed themselves under his command.

The first object to the attainment of which the new governor applied himself was to re-open, if possible, a direct communication with the sea. His great design was to secure the prompt arrival of reinforcements and

provisions not less than to provide for any accidents that might occur, and he attained it by the simple process of cutting a canal between the river and the city ditch. This done, and the twelve additional companies from Bergh having arrived, he adventured upon still more daring measures. He passed the nearest inundations, and began to fortify himself in a new line considerably in advance of the western face. He chose for this position a spot of ground covered in front by a sort of swamp, which, though at full tide impassable, was not at low water sufficiently overflowed to cast serious impediments in the way of such as forded it. Here, to the astonishment of the archduke's engineers, a body of English appeared one morning in the act of casting up a breast-work; and a battery being immediately turned upon them, a heavy firing began. But De Vere had entered upon this project under no delusive expectation that his ground was tenable. All that he desired was to lead the enemy into an assault in a quarter where they must be greatly exposed, having made his own arrangements for an abrupt retreat so soon as he had caused them to pay at the uttermost rate for their valueless conquest.

The detachment having worked throughout the night, were sufficiently sheltered to suffer little from this cannonade. They even continued all day to strengthen their line, and threw up, in the face of the enemy, the rudiments of a redoubt. Such conduct gave strength to the conviction which the Spanish engineers had received, that the English designed, at any hazard, to keep the ground thus marked out. They therefore prepared to attack the unfinished work so soon as the state of the tide would allow, and De Vere, who anticipated such a result, gave orders suitable to the occasion. He left not more than eighty men, in the new line, of whom one half were musketeers, the remainder pikemen. The officer in command was instructed to advance with his musketeers on the first alarm to the edge of the marsh, to keep up an incessant fire during the passage, but on no

account whatever to abide a serious conflict, either in the open country or in the unfinished redoubt. On the contrary, he was to fall back upon his pikemen, who were instructed to stand firm only till they should be joined by the musketeers, when the whole were to retreat leisurely towards one of the regular outworks, under which, in case the ardour of pursuit should lead them so far, the enemy must severely suffer. Unfortunately the officer, either from excess of courage or mistaken zeal, disobeyed the orders given to him. Instead of retiring, as the enemy drew on, he maintained his ground on the bank of the swamp with the utmost intrepidity, and retreated only when the weight of superior numbers fairly bore him down. The consequence was, that the pikemen, not less than the discomfited musketeers, were shut up in an indefensible redoubt, which was stormed and taken with great fury, and the enemy, instead of falling into the snare which had been so carefully laid for them, imagined that they had really to boast of a partial victory.

From this day forth the siege was pressed with a degree of ardour which it required all the energy of De Vere and his followers to resist. Day by day, the enemy's approaches were pushed forward, while their cannon and mortars, both of which commanded the town, soon reduced almost every house to ruins. In this emergency, the garrison excavated every open space, such as the public markets, the place of exercise, &c; and there, in holes and caves, covered over with planks and clods of earth, they found shelter from the iron hail. While things were in this state, De Vere received a desperate wound in the head from the splinter of one of his own guns, which burst in the discharge. The hurt proved so serious, that it was deemed necessary to move him to the island of Zealand, where, during a space of something more than six weeks, he lay in a very precarious state; but, towards the end of September, he was so far recovered that all the entreaties of his medical attendants failed to detain him. He hurried back

to the post of danger and of honour; and high time it was that a master-spirit should be present, where treachery as well as open violence were leagued against the devoted garrison.

While the general was absent, there arrived at Ostend an Englishman of the name of Conisby, a gentleman by birth, who had formerly held the rank of captain in the French service. This man brought strong letters of recommendation to De Vere, who, without seeing the bearer, at once admitted him as a volunteer into his own company. The man was an agent of archduke Albert, and a traitor to his own country, who came for the sole purpose of betraying the town. Of every movement made by the garrison, whether of offence or defence, he made the assailants regularly aware, depositing his letters in a broken boat, which lay midway between their camp and the town. But this was not the only method which he adopted to effect the ruin of his new commander. Wherever he saw discontent prevail among the soldiers, there he failed not to seek for friends, till he succeeded at last in gaining over five or six men to his own bad opinions.

To conduct such an affair as Conisby had now on hand requires, happily for all honourable men, more than human prudence. It chanced, on one occasion, that he met a serjeant of an English troop, who had just been released from prison; where, for some offence committed, he had been condemned to lie unquestionably much longer than either humanity or justice required. The man naturally complained of his captain, and threw out such threats as persons labouring under the influence of excited feeling are apt to employ; which, being overheard by Conisby, led him to conclude, that another instrument fit for his purposes was presented. In an evil hour for himself he opened his designs to the enraged serjeant. He assured him, that so soon as he had secured twenty comrades on whom he could depend, it was his intention so to manage matters that the guard of the principal magazine should be committed to him;

that his companions should, the same night, be stationed at one of the sluices in the works nearest to the enemy; and that, on the blowing up of the magazine, they should open the gate to a column which should be ready to seize it. The serjeant heard all this, affected to come into the plot, but went and reported the whole to sir Francis de Vere. Conisby was immediately arrested, and both he and his associates, confessing their guilt, were publicly executed.

All hope of success, by such means, being removed, the archduke applied himself, with redoubled ardour, to the labours and hazards of the siege. First one and then the other of the mouths of the Guil were, with prodigious toil and difficulty, rendered impassable; while the garrison, working with not less assiduity than the besiegers, opened a third basin, which led directly from the town to the sea. The Spaniards, however, closed in day by day and hour by hour on the body of the place, till they had gained all the dykes and canals, and were cut off only by the river on the east and west, and by the insulated forts southward, called the Quarriers. Meanwhile, an incessant fire from their batteries ruined the defences in numerous parts. The garrison, too, became continually more and more weakened, both in numbers and efficiency, till at last it began seriously to be doubted whether an assault, if vigorously given, could be resisted.

The particular face against which the archduke had erected his batteries was precisely that of which the engineers, to whom the fortification of the town had been intrusted, were the most jealous. His trenches extended to the edge of the western channel, and his batteries played upon the Porcupine and Sandhill bastions, and upon the wall which connected them. In order to gain a fresh view of the old town it was deemed advisable to storm the fausse-braie; and at an early hour in the morning of December the 4th the attack was made, with what result the following quaint description will show:—

"Sir Francis de Vere," says his servant Higham, the

same who assisted to extricate him from his perilous situation at the battle of Nieuport, " having been abroad the most part of that night, was laid down to take his rest; but hearing the alarm that the English trenches were assaulted, and knowing of what great import that work was for the defence of the town, pulling on his stockings, with his sword in his hand, he ran in all haste, unbraced, with some soldiers and captain Couldwell and myself into the work, where he found his own company at push of pike on a turnpike with the enemy (who, crying in French, *Entrez, entrez! advancez, advancez!* strove to enter that way, and sought to overturn the turnpike with their pikes,) and some of his gentlemen, among the rest lieutenant-colonel Proud* (who was afterwards slain at Maestricht), slashing off the heads of their pikes, which he took notice of, and, shortly after, made him a lieutenant. The enemy being repulsed and beaten off, (to the end our men might give fire upon them the better from the town and bulwarks, which flanked the work both with our ordnance and small shot,) he commanded the souldiers to take some straw from the huts within the work, and making wispes of it to set it on fire on the parapet of the work and upon the heads of their pikes, by which lights the enemies were discovered, so that our men gave fire freely upon them both from the town and the work, and shot into their battalions which had fallen in, and their men that were carrying off their dead; so that upon this attempt the enemy lost a matter of 500 men, which lay under our own work and between their trenches. The enemy being retreated into his works, sir Francis de Vere called to me and said, — 'Boy, come now and pull up my stockings and tie my points,' and so returned home again to his rest."

Though repelled on this occasion, the archduke was far from showing symptoms of distrust. He renewed his fire, on the contrary, with fresh fury; while the very elements assisting him, swept away portions of the

* Then an ensign.

defences of the old town, by a succession of high and violent tides. In this emergency, while the continuance of stormy weather precluded all hope of receiving supplies or reinforcements, it was determined by the governor, on his own responsibility, to try the effect of negotiation. The idea of absolutely surrendering the place was not indeed entertained by him for a moment. "I am like a man," said he to his confidential friend, captain Ogle, "that hath both courage and judgment to defend himself, and yet must sit with his hands bound, whilst boyes and devils come and box him about the ears. Yet this I will tell you, too, rather than you shall ever see the name of Francis de Vere subscribed to the delivery of a town committed to his custody, or his hand to the least article of treaty, though with the archduke's own person, had I a thousand lives I would first burie them all in the rampier; yet, in the mean while, judge you of the quality of this our being."—"I told him," continues the writer, "that I thought if he were in his former liberty, he would bethink himself ere he suffered himself to be penned up in such a cage again: he made no reply, but addressed himself to his businesse, and I to mine. What his thoughts now were I will not enter into, unlesse I had more strength to reach them. Sure I am, they wanted no stuffe to work on, for the bone he had to gnaw upon wanted as good teeth as any were in Hannibal's head to break it; and had not his been such, all the hands we had there could not have plucked it out of our own throats."

Having called his principal officers together, De Vere requested them each to deliver his opinion, not as to the further defence of the town, for that he had made up his mind to hold to the last extremity, but touching the propriety of relinquishing the Quarriers with other advanced works, most of which were avowedly indefensible in case of assault. Towards the ford, in particular, there were a ravelin, a fausse-braie, and two demiloons, all of them utterly useless; yet upon the maintenance of these must, in an essential degree, depend the further holding of the

town. When his chiefs, as generally happens at such discussions, spoke one after one fashion, another after another, De Vere quietly dismissed them, satisfied that he must after all rely on his own resources; and these he promptly tried. Though aware that in the enemy's camp every preparation had been made, and that they waited only for the neap tides to give the storm, he made his dispositions with the same coolness as if no danger impended. He directed the garrison of the Quarriers to fall back; he caused the fausse-braie to be abandoned, and its works dismantled; he filled the Porcupine redoubt and the north east ravelin with men, and erected strong batteries on two heights which commanded the breaches. He next applied himself to the task of gaining time; an object of the first importance to a man so situated; and the following is the expedient which he adopted for the purpose: — After striving in vain to lead the besiegers by indirect means into a negotiation, he permitted his friend colonel Ogle to pass into the camp under a flag of truce, giving him, however, instructions so vague and general, that without repeated references to himself no arrangement could be effected. It argues greatly for the respect in which De Vere's military talents were held, that the archduke consented to receive a commissioner, with powers so limited, from the governor of a place reduced, as Ostend was supposed to be, to the last extremity. Nevertheless he did receive Ogle, treated him with marked respect, and went on all occasions beyond his demands as often as the terms of surrender were discussed. More than ordinary address was in short needed to ward off a positive treaty, and save the honour of De Vere; but Ogle possessed the requisite qualification to a very unusual degree, and matters proceeded as the governor could have wished.

Extensive as was the diplomatic skill of De Vere's commissioner, affairs came at last to a crisis; and the single question remained to be determined whether Ostend should be given up on terms, or its garrison

run the hazard of an assault. The archduke, confident that he would within a few hours march triumphantly across the ditch, had despatched an escort for his duchess; and the duchess, with a numerous retinue of ladies, had arrived, when the appearance of a squadron on the coast determined De Vere at once to break off the negotiation. Not waiting till the reinforcements had actually gained the shore, he despatched a messenger to the royalist camp, who delivered the following polite, but laconic, note to the general: —

"We have heretofore held it necessary, for certain reasons, to treat with the deputies which had authority from your highnesse; but whilst we were about to conclude upon the conditions and articles, there are arrived certain of our ships of warre, by whom we have received part of that which we had need of; and that we cannot with our honour and oath continue the treaty, nor proceed in it, which we hope that your highnesse will not take in ill part; and that nevertheless, when your power shall reduce us to the like estate, you will not refuse, as a most generous prince, to vouchsafe us again a gentle audience. From our town of Ostend, the 25th day of December, 1601. "FRANCIS DE VERE."

The indignation of the archduke on the perusal of this despatch showed itself in the most extravagant manner. He declared with an oath that he would spare neither sex nor age, but that every living thing within the walls should be put to the sword; and his followers, giving way to the same vindictive feeling, both sides looked forward to a scene of indiscriminate plunder and carnage. Some strange infatuation, however, hindered the royalists from bringing matters at once to a decisive issue. The batteries indeed again opened their fire with increased effect, causing whole sections of the tottering wall to crumble; but the final business of the assault was not undertaken till nearly a fortnight had elapsed from the receipt of De Vere's letter. De Vere was neither unobservant nor slow to take advantage of the

circumstance. Day and night his people were at work throwing up barricades and cutting traverses, while the utmost vigilance was exerted, and the strictest discipline preserved. There was not a night some portion of which the governor himself failed to spend upon the breach. Whenever the tide was at the ebb, he showed himself there; indeed the meanest sentinel appeared to enjoy greater relaxation and repose than he.

Such was the order in which affairs went on till the evening of the 6th of January, the garrison replying, as it best might, to the enemy's fire: at an early hour on the morning of the 7th fresh batteries opened, and the cannonade became more furious than ever. This circumstance, united with the reports of his spies, warned De Vere that the mighty struggle was at hand. He had already formed his plans, and issued his general instructions touching the mode of defence, the accessible points being enfiladed in all directions both by cannon and musketry. He now hastened to assign to every man his particular charge, and to throw such additional obstacles in the way of the assailants as time would allow. About midnight, the state of the tide would render the estuary fordable. As soon as darkness set in, and the enemy's guns ceased to play, he ordered fifty stout workmen to the summit of the breach, who, being largely paid, threw up a rude breast-work, and faced it in an incredibly short space of time with pallisades. At the top of this wall he ranged a row of casks, filled some with ashes, some with tenter-nails the latter tied up, in bundles of four, so that when the clump fell, one point at all events should be uppermost. Ropes well smeared with pitch, hoops bound about with squibs and fire-works, hand-grenades, huge stones, and beams of timber were likewise provided, while, for close encounter, the soldiers were supplied, in addition to their pikes, with heavy clubs armed with pikes and nails. Then distributing his people in companies, more or less strong according as each post appeared accessible, he commanded all to preserve the most profound silence, par-

ticularly directing the officers to reserve their fire till himself should give the signal.

Having fully ascertained that each man was at his post, and seen the gunners not only lay their artillery, but obtain a correct range, by throwing two or three shot towards the strand, De Vere, attended by a single trusty veteran, passed out by a sally-port into the deserted fausse-braie. Here he lay down, while his companion creeping forward under cover of some loose gabions, advanced within a short distance of the estuary. The latter was instructed, so soon as he should observe any thing suspicious, to return: nor had De Vere enjoyed the company of his own thoughts many minutes ere the man came back. "What news?" said the general. "My lord," replied his sentinel, "I smell good store of gold chains, buff jerkins, Spanish cassocks, and Spanish blades."—"Ha!" exclaimed De Vere, "sayest thou me so? I hope thou shalt have some of them anon;" and giving him a piece of gold, they withdrew together. The vision of the veteran had not deceived him. A column of 2000 men, chiefly Italians, led on by count Farneze, were already struggling through the falling tide, and in a few minutes afterwards they gained and formed upon the beach. Still De Vere delayed to give the signal. The enemy, though exposed to one line of fire, came not as yet under the whole of his ordnance; he would not, therefore, open upon them till he could do so with all his power. But the eager and excited soldiers were not kept long in suspense. Having completed their formation, the Italians fired a gun towards the sea as a signal to those in rear that the assault was about to commence. They then moved forward, and in two seconds they were swept down by one of the most tremendous volleys under which devoted battalions have ever reeled and staggered.

Though for the instant amazed and disordered, the veteran Italians withdrew not an inch. The first panic was no sooner overcome, than they rushed boldly forward, wide lanes being cut in their ranks at every step,

till, having gained the foot of the breach, they in their turn began to fire,—a measure of all others the most injudicious in men so circumstanced. Then it was that De Vere brought his remaining missiles effectually into play. While they toiled at the ascent, the front ranks pausing from time to time for the purpose of loading and discharging their pieces, the casks, of which we have formerly spoken, were let loose; burning pitch, ropes, hoops girdled with fire-works, hand grenades, and blazing beams, fell likewise among them in terrible showers; and several demi-cannon, which had not yet given their fire, being filled to the muzzles with bullets and rusty iron, were discharged. Still the assailants pressed on, till pike met pike and sword clashed with sword, the one party straining every nerve to surmount the parapet, the other resolutely opposing them. But no progress whatever was made. Men died by hundreds at the foot of that steep, by steel or lead, or blows from clubs; but not one planted foot upon it except as a prisoner. In a word, after displaying the most heroic courage, after thrice suffering a repulse, and thrice returning to the charge, this gallant band was compelled to give way, a mere wreck escaping beyond the estuary, where multitudes found a grave. Nor was the issue of the attack different in other quarters. While the Italians stormed the breach, 3000 Spaniards had entered the Quarriers, whence they made a push to carry the town by escalade; but they, too, were beaten back, and compelled to retreat.

In the mean while, the eastern side of the town had been threatened, rather than assailed, by numbers not inferior to those which attempted it on the west. Had they reached their ground in time, it may be questioned whether the feeble guard, which could alone be spared for that quarter, would have long withstood them; but, fortunately for the honour of De Vere and the safety of his garrison, they came not up till all had been lost elsewhere. The tide, too, was already on the turn: there would be no possibility of retreat in case of a repulse;

and, to say the truth, the courage both of officers and men seems not to have been of a very fiery description. Instead, therefore, of passing the Guillet, they contented themselves with storming an outwork,—a half-moon, which lay across the stream, and stood open in the rear,—from which, though they took it without the smallest difficulty, they were driven on the return of day by the fire of the place. Thus, on all hands, was the attack gallantly met and successfully resisted, with a loss to the Spaniards of full 2000 men, while of the garrison not more than thirty were slain, and about 100 wounded.

From this date up to the middle of March, De Vere continued to defend himself with all the valour and address which might have been expected at his hands. No farther attempt was, however, made to carry the town by storm; nor does he appear to have thrown away the lives of his men by unnecessary sorties, but he repaired each night the damage which the day's firing had occasioned, and presented on all occasions an imposing front to the enemy. In the midst of these successes, however, an order arrived that he should deliver up the command to general Dorp. He instantly obeyed; and, accompanied by his brother sir Horace and a considerable personal staff, returned to England.

Though we know, upon the authority of the Sydney papers, that sir Francis de Vere continued in the service of the States some time longer, we have not been able to discover that either in the campaign of 1603 in Brabant, or in that of the year following in Cadsant, he took any prominent or active share. The simple fact that his name is not once mentioned by the Dutch historians would, indeed, induce a persuasion that he was not even a witness to either service; while the circumstance that king James was proclaimed by him at Brille, in the month of April, 1603, seems to imply that he resided entirely upon his government. In the month of June, again, in the same year, we find him in attendance at the court of St. James's, where his appointment, which the death of the queen had caused to lapse, was renewed,

and hence it seems in the highest degree improbable, to use no stronger term, that he could have found leisure to attend prince Maurice in one or other of these expeditions. But however this may be, no doubt can exist that his splendid military career came to a close in the autumn of 1604. The conclusion of peace between England and Spain, as it compelled James to withdraw his support from the States, so it led to the dismissal of De Vere from his employment under that government; nor during the remainder of his days was a new field opened for the exercise of his great but peculiar talents. The truth, indeed, is, that De Vere did not long enjoy the renown which his valour and discretion had earned for him. On the 28th August, 1608, at the premature age of fifty-four, with all his faculties of mind and body entire, and in the full lustre of his fame, he died at his own house in London, and was buried in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist in Westminster Abbey, where his very remarkable monument may still be seen.

The character of this illustrious soldier has been so ably drawn by men who may in some degree be accounted his contemporaries, that it were an act of injustice to his memory were we to withhold from these pages the high meed of praise which they have bestowed upon him. "Sir Francis Vere," says sir Robert Naughton, "was of that ancient and most noble extract of the earls of Oxford; and it may be a question whether the nobility of his house or the honour of his achievements might most commend him; but that we have an authentic rule —

> *Nam genus et proavos et quæ nonfecimus ipsi,*
> *Vix ea nostra voco.*

For though he was an honourable slip of that ancient tree of nobility, which was no disadvantage to his virtue, yet he brought more glory to the name of Vere than he took blood from the family. He was, amongst all the queen's swordsmen, inferior unto none, but superior unto many; of whom it may be said, to speak much of

him, were to leave out somewhat that might add to his praise, and to forget more than would make to his honour. I find not that he came much to court, for he lived almost perpetually in the camp; but when he did, none had more of the queen's favour, and none less envied; for he seldome troubled it with the noise and alarms of supplications,—his way was another sort of undermining. They report that the queen, as she loved martial men, would court this gentleman as soon as he appeared in her presence: and surely he was a soldier of great worth and command, thirty years in the service of the States, and twenty years over the English in chief, as the queen's general."

"Sir Francis de Vere," says Fuller, "was of a fiery and rigid nature, undaunted in all dangers, not overvaluing the price of men's lives to purchase a victory therewith. He served in the scene of all Christendom where war was acted;" and of these services Lloyd has asserted that they were "all instances of the wonders that courage can do when wise, valour when sober, a passion when rational, and a great spirit when advised." After such commendation from writers who, if they did not personally come in contact with De Vere, possessed means of estimating his public character such as can scarcely belong to us, it may appear presumptuous to add any remarks of our own; nevertheless we must be permitted to observe, that the subject of this memoir manifestly belonged to that order of mortals, who, in whatever walk of life they may be destined to move, not only rise to eminence among their contemporaries, but outstrip the very age in which they live. At a period when the art of war vibrated, as it were, between two extremes,—when much that had been laid aside belonging to the chivalric age was supplied by a pedantry as cold as it was ridiculous,—De Vere set every established rule at defiance; and throwing himself for support upon the dictates of his own genius, fought and won battles on which none but himself would have adventured. The proudest wreath which encircles the

brow of prince Maurice was in reality earned by De Vere; for to him, and to him alone, was the great victory of Nieupont owing. In like manner, the brilliant capture of Cadiz, which historians have attributed, some to Essex, others, with still less of reason, to Raleigh, must be traced back to De Vere. He it was that pointed out the proper mode of proceeding, and regulated every detail after the advance began; while to his foresight, in holding a strong reserve together, is justly ascribable the retention of a conquest which ought to have been more easily gained than held. Of his masterly movements in the double relief of Rhineberg, we abstain from saying more than that they afford convincing proof how much may be done where there is courage to use, and judgment to direct, even slender means; while his defence of Ostend, whether for sheer hardihood, or a truly scientific disposition of his force, will find few parallels in military history. Sir Francis de Vere, in short, though, like many other shining characters, he has been less noticed by posterity than some of higher political rank, was truly the hero of his age, a man of whom the English army may be justly proud, even in the generation which has witnessed the glories of the last war under the auspices of Wellington.

Sir Francis de Vere married Elizabeth, the daughter of —— Dont, a citizen of London, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. His children all died before him; but his widow erected to his memory that monument to which we have already alluded. The following description may serve to point it out to such as may chance to visit the chapel. On a marble table, raised somewhat above the floor, rests a full-length figure of De Vere, supported upon a quilt of figured alabaster. Over the figure is a canopy of Lydean or touchstone, supported at the four corners by four knights, fully armed, except that their heads are bare, each kneeling upon one knee. Round the verge is the epitaph, in letters of gold: —

"Francisco Vero equiti aurato, Galfredi F. Joannis

comitis Oxoniæ nepoti, Brieliæ et Portsmuthæ præfecto, Anglicarum copiarum in Belgiâ ductori summo, Elizabetha uxor vero charissima quocum conjunxissime vixit, hoc supremum amicis et fidei conjugatis monumentum mœstissima, et cum lacrymis gemens posuit. Obiit xxviii. die Augusti, anno salutis MDCVIII., et anno ætatis suæ LIIII."

Besides this, another epitaph to his memory was composed, with which, as being exceedingly appropriate to the disposition of the man, we close the present article:

"When Vere sought death, arm'd with his sword and shield,
Death was afraid to meet him in the field;
But when his weapons he had laid aside,
Death, like a coward, strooke him, and he died."

OLIVER CROMWELL.

In the Introduction to this work it has been explicitly stated, that though from the era of the Norman conquest there were never wanting bands of mercenary soldiers to occupy the castles and fortified towns belonging to the king, no traces of a standing army, similar in its composition to those which now exist throughout the whole of Europe, can be discovered in this country prior to the middle of the 17th century. Down to that date, wars, whether of defence or conquest, were carried on either by the feudal militia, or by troops raised under a commission of array; which, being enrolled for some particular service, were, on its conclusion, disbanded, and sent again to their own homes. The great struggle between Charles I. and his parliament led, almost unavoidably, to a different arrangement. Though begun, and to a certain extent concluded, by the yeomen of the counties and the trained bands of cities, that contest may be said to have produced a new order in the body politic; for the men who waged it successfully, becoming soldiers by profession, laid aside neither their arms nor their discipline after peace was restored. As a necessary consequence a standing army sprang up, the first, indeed, which England had ever maintained; nor from that era to the present time have circumstances permitted that an engine so powerful in itself, yet so eminently conducive to tranquillity, should be laid aside.

Of this vital change in the military system of his country, the reader need scarcely be informed that Oliver Cromwell was the author. Raised to the highest eminence by the influence of the soldiery, that extraordinary man found himself compelled, not merely to depend upon them for continued support, but to keep them in such a condition as that the check of military dis-

cipline should never for a moment be relaxed. Of him, therefore, one of the most profound statesmen as well as successful soldiers whom England has ever produced, we propose to give an account; avoiding as far as possible all speculations on points purely religious or political, that we may bring more prominently into notice his exploits and tactics as a great military commander.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon on the 25th of April, 1599. Both by father's and mother's side his family was respectable, for he was the son of Robert, the grandson of sir Henry, a great-grandson of sir Richard Cromwell; the last a Welsh gentleman of an ancient stock, who exchanged the name of Williams for that of Cromwell, on his marriage with a sister of Thomas earl of Essex.* His mother again claimed, upon ground far from fanciful, to be a scion of the royal tree of Stuart. She was the daughter of Walter Stuart, of the isle of Ely, a lineal descendant, according to North, from James I., lord high steward of Scotland, and a cousin, not very distantly removed, of Charles, the unfortunate opponent of his grandson. Other genealogies are indeed given, some of them more, some less gratifying to the family pride of the protector; but they all agree in attesting, that with the blood of the monarch, whom he ultimately dethroned, that of Cromwell was allied.

With this admitted fact before us, it is not easy to suppress a smile at the anxiety evinced by the personal and political enemies of the protector, to undervalue even the lineage of their great oppressor. One of the favourite sarcasms thrown out against him is, that he was the son of a brewer, and that in his own person he followed

* To the policy of Henry VII. the general adoption of surnames by the Welsh families is owing. Partly with a view to blot out all remembrance of national distinctions, and partly that the business of the courts of law might be facilitated, that politic monarch prevailed upon his Cambrian subjects to drop their original patronymic, *ap*. Morgan ap William, or the son of William, became henceforth Morgan Williams; though, in the particular case before us, a Morgan ap William was persuaded to assume the name of Cromwell

the same humble occupation. There seems good ground for admitting that both assertions are correct, though there is surely none, in a country like England, for regarding the facts as disgraceful; unless, indeed, the disgrace attach to the individuals by whom they were brought forward in a spirit of paltry because posthumous hostility. The father of Oliver, being a second son, was somewhat slenderly provided for. He endeavoured to improve his circumstances by embarking in business, a measure the reverse of discreditable either to his judgment or his gentility; and he succeeded, as the representatives of many of the first families in the nation have done, both before and since, in obtaining an honest livelihood by exercising an honest trade. This, as it is by far the most satisfactory, is likewise the most manly reply that can be offered to the supposed calumny; for the insinuations of such as would shift the opprobrium from the shoulders of the husband to those of the wife, are not more hollow in argument than they are despicable in design.

There are many curious anecdotes on record relative both to the childhood and early youth of Oliver Cromwell. It is stated that on one occasion, when his uncle sir Henry Cromwell sent for him, he being then an infant, a monkey snatched him from the cradle, leaped with him through a garret window, and ran along the leads. The utmost alarm was of course excited, and a variety of devices proposed, with the desperate hope of relieving him from his perilous situation. But the monkey, as if conscious that she bore the fortune of England in her paws, treated him very gently. After amusing herself for a time, she carried the infant back, and laid him safely on the bed from whence she had removed him. Some time later, the waters had well nigh quenched his aspiring genius. He fell into a deep pond, from which a clergyman, named Johnson, rescued him. Many years afterwards the loyal curate, then an old man, was recognised by the republican general, when marching at the head of a victorious army through Huntingdon. "Do you

remember that day when you saved me from drowning?" said Cromwell. "I do," replied the clergyman; "and I wish with all my soul that I had put you in, rather than see you in arms against your sovereign." A third story we cannot refuse to give, because it made a more than common impression at the time.

There was a rumour prevalent in Huntingdon, that Oliver Cromwell and Charles I., when children nearly of the same age, met at Hinchinbrooke House, the seat of sir Oliver Cromwell, the uncle and godfather of the former. "The youths had not been long together," says Noble, "before Charles and Oliver disagreed; and as the former was then as weakly as the latter was strong, it was no wonder that the royal visitant was worsted; and Oliver, even at this age, so little regarded dignities, that he made the royal blood flow in copious streams from the prince's nose. This," adds the same author, "was looked upon as a bad presage for that king, when the civil wars commenced." *

It seems to have been the wish of his mother, by whom he was greatly beloved, to bestow upon Oliver an education strictly domestic; and a Mr. Long, a clergyman of the established church, was accordingly engaged to act as his private tutor. Mr. Long, however, who possessed little influence over his pupil, soon resigned his charge; upon which Oliver was placed in the free grammar school at Huntingdon, then taught by Dr. Thomas Beard. Very various and contradictory accounts are given of his progress under his new master. A foreign writer, who delights in the marvellous, has represented the future protector as a prodigy of learning; while of his countrymen not a few speak of him as an incorrigible dunce, as well as a rebellious and headstrong reprobate. The truth appears to be, that with a more than ordinary share of quickness, Oliver took no particular delight in

* The account of this pugilistic encounter between Charles and Cromwell is, to say the least of it, by no means improbable. It is well known that sir Oliver, a true and loyal knight, sumptuously entertained king James on more than one occasion; and the young prince, being twice, at least, of the party, such a falling out is not unlikely to have occurred.

the routine of his scholastic studies, though he was ever foremost in the performance of such exploits as required the exercise of reckless daring or patient courage. There was not an orchard within seven miles of the town which failed to receive from him periodical visits; while the dove-cotes of the neighbouring gentry were likewise laid under contribution, as often as a marauding party could be arranged. For these misdeeds, as well as for other delinquencies, he received, when detected, the most savage chastisement; Dr. Beard's reputation standing very high, not more on account of his great learning, than on account of the severe discipline which he maintained among his scholars. Nevertheless, such excessive harshness produced no good effect upon Cromwell. Of a bold and obstinate temper, he endured these merciless floggings without the utterance of a complaint, and returned to his former habits, not only with indifference, but with a dogged, and, as it appeared, a triumphant hardihood.

While a pupil at this school, two circumstances are related to have taken place, to one of which, after he rose to his high estate, Cromwell himself frequently reverted. "On a certain night, as he lay awake in his bed, he beheld, or imagined that he beheld, a gigantic figure, which, drawing aside the curtains, told him that he should become the greatest person in the kingdom, but did not employ the word king." Cromwell mentioned the circumstance both to his father and his uncle; the former of whom caused Dr. Beard to reward the communication with a sound flogging, while the latter rebuked his nephew for stating that "which it was too traitorous to relate." Nevertheless, the dream or vision adhered to Oliver's memory, and was, as we have just said, often reverted to, after events had worked out its exact accomplishment. On another occasion, whether prior to the occurrence of the vision or the reverse authorities are not agreed, a play called "Lingua, or the Combat of the Five Senses for Superiority," was enacted in the school. In this quaint but striking masque, of which

the author remains unknown, though the comedy itself was printed in 1607, it fell to the lot of Cromwell to perform the part of Tactus, a personification of the sense of touch, who coming forth from his tiring-room with a chaplet of flowers on his head, stumbled over a crown and royal robe, cast purposely in the way. The soliloquy into which Tactus breaks forth is certainly very striking:—

Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did portend.
Was ever man so fortunate as I
To break his shins at such a stumbling-block?
Roses and bays, pack hence! this crown and robe,
My brows and body circles and invests.
How gallantly it fits me! sure the slave
Measured my head that wrought this coronet.
They lie, that say complexions cannot change;
My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd
Unto the sacred temper of a king.
Methinks I hear my noble parasites
Styling me Cæsar or great Alexander,
Licking my feet, and wondering where I got,
This precious ointment —— How my pace is mended,
How princely do I speak, how sharp I threaten:
Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
And make you tremble when the lion roars;
Ye earth-bred worms! — O for a looking glass!
Poets will write whole volumes of this change
Where's my attendants? Come hither, sirrah! quickly,
Or by the wings of Hermes, &c. &c.

We cannot wonder if, in an age remarkably prone to superstition, this scene should have been regarded both by the friends and enemies of the protector as affording a palpable prognostication of his after fortunes. Had Cromwell lived and died on his brewery, doubtless the whole matter would have been forgotten; but his ultimate rise to more than kingly power, gave to an incident, in itself purely accidental, an air of mysterious, we had almost said of prophetic, import.

From the grammar school of his native town Cromwell was removed to Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, where, on the 23d of April, 1616, he entered as a fellow commoner. There, as at Huntingdon, he is said to have led an exceedingly irregular life, applying himself at intervals with great intensity to his studies, but much more frequently indulging in rude and boisterous pastimes. At football, cricket, cudgelling, and wrestling,

few of his companions could compete with him; his manners, moreover, assumed a rough, and, occasionally, a boorish tone, till he became at last better known by the nickname of Roysterer, than by any other appellation. Yet were it unjust towards the memory of one of the most extraordinary men whom England has produced, did we accuse him, at this stage in his career, of more than the common follies of youth. A contemner of the excessive refinements of polished life he unquestionably was, nor any ways averse to drink first, and afterwards to fight; but we can discover no proof that his conduct merited the load of obloquy which Dugdale has unsparingly heaped upon it. The case is somewhat different as we proceed onwards in our narrative.

Cromwell had resided at Cambridge little more than a year when his father died; an event which produced an important change both in his present circumstances and future prospects. He was immediately removed from the university, and, after a brief interval, sent to London, where he became a member of one of the inns of court, and professed to study the law. It is a curious fact, that though common tradition represents him to have kept terms at Lincoln's Inn, there is no entry of his name in the books of that society. From this circumstance an attempt has recently * been made to throw discredit upon the stories which have hitherto obtained circulation relative to his general conduct while in the metropolis; but the weight of contemporary evidence appears to be such as to overwhelm all arguments depending upon analogy or abstract reasoning. "The most probable solution of the difficulty," says the author of Cromwell and his Times, "is, that he actually became a student of law in the metropolis, but was entered at some other inn of court;" to which we may add, that the registers of the legal societies have not always been kept with the accuracy which now belongs to them. Be this, however, as it may, we are assured by a professed panegyrist, who wrote in the year immediately succeeding

* See Memoirs of the Protector, by Oliver Cromwell, his descendant.

the protector's death, that "he came to Lincoln's Inn, where he associated himself with those of the best rank and quality, and the most ingenious persons; for though he was of a nature not averse to study and contemplation, yet he seemed rather addicted to conversation and the reading of men and their several tempers, than to a continual poring upon authors."* There seems, therefore, no ground to doubt that he did actually enrol himself among the members of one or other of the law societies; while of his manner of life during the period of his residence there, we possess tolerably accurate information. He is represented on all hands as learning nothing except "the follies and vices of the town." Wood asserts explicitly, that "his father dying whilst he was at Cambridge, he was taken home and sent to Lincoln's Inn to study the common law; but making nothing of it, he was sent for home by his mother, became a debauchee, and a boisterous and rude fellow." In like manner, Noble, an impartial, if not a friendly chronicler, records, that he not only returned from the capital a libertine and a rake, but that he supported the characters to admiration in his native town; while sir Philip Warwick states, that "the first years of his manhood were spent in a dissolute course of life, in good fellowship and gaming, which afterwards he seemed very sensible of, and sorrowful for." But the asseverations of these witnesses though perfectly credible in themselves, are not without a corroborative authority of a still higher value. The following letter from Oliver himself, dated from Ely on the 13th of October, 1638, refers manifestly to this period of his life, and fully justifies the weightiest charges which his biographers have brought against him.

"*To my beloved Cousin, Mrs. St. John, att sir William Markham, his house, called Oates, in Essex, present these.*

"Dear cozen, I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of mee upon this oppor-

* Portraiture of his Royal Highness Oliver.

tunitye. Alas! you do too highly prize my lines and my companie! I may be ashamed to own your expressions, considering how unprofitable I am, and the meane improvement of my talent; yett, to honour my God by declaringe what he hath done for my soull, in this I am confident, and will be soe. Truly then, this I finde, that he giveth springes in a dry and barren wildernesse where no water is. I live (you know) in Meshedra, which they say signifies prolonginge; in Kedar, which signifies blacknesse; yet the Lord forsaketh me not. Though he doth prolonge, yett he will (I trust) bringe me to his tabernacle, and his restinge place. My soull is with the congregation of the first-borne; my bodye rests in hope; and if heere I may honour my God either by doeinge or by sufferinge, I shall be more glad. Truely noe poore creture hath more cause to putt forthe himself in the cause of his God than I. I have had plenteful wadges beforehand, and I am sure I shall never earne the least mite. The Lord accept me in his service, and give me to walk in the light, and give us to walk in the light as hee is in the light! He it is that enlightineth our blacknesse, our darknesse. I dinnot say he hydeth his face from me; he giveth mee to see light in his light. One beame in a dark place has exceeding much refreshment in it: blessed be his name for shining on so dark a hart as mine. *You know what my manner of life hathe been! O, I lived in, and loved darkness, and hated the light. I was a chiefe, the chiefe of sinners. This is true; I hated godlinesse, yet God had mercye on mee.* O the richnesse of his mercye! praise him for mee; pray for mee, that he who hath begun a good work, would perfect it to the day of Christ. Salute all my good friends of that family whereof you are yett a member. I am much bound unto them for their love: I bless the Lord for them, and that my sonn, by their procurement, is so well. Lett him have your prayers, your councill; let mee have them. Salute your husband and sister from mee; hee is not a man of his word; he promised to write about Mr. Wrath, of Essinge,

but as yett I received no letters; put him in minde to doe what with conveniency may be done for the poore cozen I did solicit him about. Once more farewell; the Lord be with you, soe prayeth your trulye loving cozen,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

We have inserted this characteristic letter, as well as the statements of Wood, Noble, and Warwick, without the smallest feeling of rancour towards the subject of our present memoir, on whose memory we desire to cast no other reproach than truth may compel us to award. That he was dissipated, during the period of his sojourn in London, seems established beyond the possibility of contradiction; nevertheless, when the circumstances of his age and peculiar temperament are duly considered, the language of censure will scarcely degenerate into that of absolute condemnation. Cromwell, a youth of decided genius and ardent disposition, is thrown, at the early age of eighteen, as it were, loose upon the world: we cannot be surprised to find that his very ardour led him into practices, which, to the eyes of a less gifted individual, might have held out no allurements. But the best apology which can, after all, be offered for him is, that ere he had attained to the years of legal discretion, his dissipated habits were wholly laid aside. His mother, a pious and sensible woman, spoke to him in the language of admonition; he received her advice in good part, corrected the whole line of his manners, and became as remarkable for a strict attention to decorum as he had formerly been the reverse.

The consequences of this reformation in his manners were, first, a reconciliation with his relatives, the Hampdens and Barringtons, from whom his previous ex-[illegible] had alienated him, and next, his marriage, through [illegible] interference, with Elizabeth the daughter of sir James Bourchier, of Fitsed, in Essex. The latter event, which took place in St. Giles's church, Cripplegate, on the 22d of August, 1620, proved exceedingly conducive

to his future respectability. The lady, though boasting but few personal attractions, possessed both good sense and a fair share of accomplishments; and as she brought with her a considerable addition to his patrimony, the union began under very favourable auspices. Nor were the promises thus held out doomed to end in disappointment. Throughout many years, during which she presented him with nine children, of whom five only survived their father, Cromwell and his wife lived happily together; neither the cares of public life, nor frequent and unavoidable separation, being permitted on either side to loosen the ties of conjugal attachment.

It is impossible to ascertain with perfect accuracy, at this distance of time, how Cromwell spent the interval between his marriage and his first appearance in parliament in 1628: that he dwelt almost constantly in Huntingdon seems to be generally agreed; and that he carried on the business which his father had conducted before him, is in the highest degree probable. The latter fact, as it is supported chiefly by the assertions of the satirical ballads of the day, has indeed been called in question. But without pausing to discuss a point of very little moment, however determined, we may observe, that the author of the Panegyric, usually attributed to Milton, clearly sanctions the statements of the hostile party. "Being now arrived," says he, "to a mature and ripe age, all which time he spent as a private person, noted for nothing so much as the culture of pure religion and an integrity of life, he *was grown rich at home*, and had enlarged his hopes, relying upon God and a great soul, in a quiet bosom, for any the most exalted times." "Omitting all present consideration of the rather remarkable concluding words, does not the expression, '*grown* rich at home,' seem to allow the inference that it was by some trade or profession his property had thus increased; since to live without business, and at the same time reputably to bring up a numerous family, could hardly have conduced to its accumulation." Such is the question put by Mr. Thomas Cromwell, the ingenious author of the

Protector's Life and Times; and it is one which all reflecting persons will, we presume, be disposed to answer in the affirmative. There is, however, another matter connected with this stage in Cromwell's career. on which we find it not so easy to satisfy ourselves; we allude to the grave accusation brought against him both by Dugdale and Noble, that, "having by his extravagance wasted his patrimony, and being refused assistance by his uncle Stewart, he petitioned the king for a commission of lunacy, with the view of depriving the accusant of his estate;" a petition which his majesty neglected, because the assertions on which Cromwell's claim was founded were not borne out by proof. If this tale be really true, then must all our belief in the sincerity of Cromwell's reformation evaporate; if it be a calumny, it is remarkably supported by very plausible evidence. It may not be amiss to place an abstract of the reasonings both of such as deny, and such as credit the statement, in juxtaposition.

The advocates for Cromwell contend, that he being the acknowledged heir at law of his uncle, would scarcely incur the hazard of having his succession cut off, by venturing upon an attempt at once so flagitious and so uncertain in its issue. The same parties argue, that the fact of his election to represent the borough of Huntingdon in parliament, is of itself sufficient to free him from so gross an accusation, inasmuch as the people of that place would hardly make choice for their representative of a man branded with such a crime, and at the same time destitute of all beyond personal interest. But, above all, it is urged that the conduct of sir Thomas Stewart himself places the falsehood of the charge in its clearest light: that gentleman actually left to Oliver Cromwell, at his decease, an estate in lands and tithes valued at 500*l.* a year; — a bequest which no man is likely to have made to a relative who had endeavoured to place him, during life, under restraint. On the other hand, it is asserted that the circumstance in question was not only well known, but universally ad-

mitted to be true by the protector's contemporaries. It was recorded at the moment by writers, whose means of arriving at the merits of the case were unquestionably more ample than those of any modern; yet it has never, till very recently, been denied. Nor is the following extract from Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams without weight in the matter:—"At a meeting of the privy council in 1645, the archbishop, speaking to the king of Cromwell, said, 'I knew him at Buckden, but never knew his religion, being a common spokesman for sectaries, and maintaining their part with stubbornness. He never discoursed as if he were pleased with your majesty and your officers; and, indeed, he loves none that are more than his equals. *Your majesty did him but justice in refusing his petition against sir Thomas Stewart, of the Isle of Ely;* but he takes them all for his enemies that would not let him undo his best friends; and, above all that live, I think him the most mindful of an injury.'" We are not called upon to decide between the counterbalancing weight of testimony on the one hand, and argument on the other; but if the latter extract be genuine, we confess that we cannot see how its force is either to be overborne or explained away.

There is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the precise date of Cromwell's adoption of the tenets peculiar to the puritans, and his formal adhesion to the party which he eventually moulded to his own purposes. Generally speaking, the sudden convert from vice and folly runs, if his temper be sanguine, into an opposite extreme; but such appears not to have been the case with Cromwell. Though connected by marriage with a dissenting family, and brought unavoidably into frequent communication with non-conformist ministers, he professed during some years to adhere rigidly to the faith of his fathers; attending divine service at the parish church, and contracting an intimacy with more than one of the most celebrated among the orthodox clergy. Nevertheless there are circumstances on record which would authorise the belief, that even then he entertained at least

no hostility towards the sectarians. It was during this interval that his intercourse with archbishop Williams, then bishop of Lincoln, began; and that prelate's speech to the king conveys more than an insinuation, that the cause of the nonconformists found in Cromwell a hearty as well as a frequent advocate. Still, as we have already said, Cromwell was himself no puritan; nor is it probable that he as yet entertained any idea of passing over to the ranks of the disaffected either in church or state.

In the year 1628, Comwell, for the first time, took his seat in the great council of the nation, as one of the members for the borough of Huntingdon. It was the third parliament which the pecuniary necessities of Charles had compelled him to summon, and it met under the influence of strong irritation, produced not more by the numerous acts of arbitrary power which had been exercised during the dissolution, than by the injudicious attempts of the clergy and crown lawyers to support, both from the pulpit and at the bar, the doctrine of passive obedience. The first measure of the new house of commons was to propose the famous petition of rights, which passed by a prodigious majority, and was presented for the royal signature. Charles hesitated; but the absolute exhaustion of his exchequer, and the steady refusal of the commons to vote any supply so long as this grand charter of public liberty remained unratified, finally wrung from him a reluctant consent. Ample subsidies were now furnished, yet the boon was accompanied by a fresh attack upon the prerogative, in a matter concerning which Charles had shown himself to be exceedingly jealous. The right of the sovereign to collect, independently of his parliament, duties on wines and merchandise imported, under the denomination of tonnage and poundage, was openly called in question; and the discussion assumed by degrees a tone so unfavourable, that Charles hastily prorogued the session. The houses were not permitted to resume their sittings till after an interval of six months. Nevertheless, this interruption of public business, so far from allaying,

seemed only to increase, the general discontent of the people. When parliament again assembled, the question of tonnage and poundage was at once resumed; then followed a resolution, that a strict enquiry ought to be made into the state of religion throughout the country, and, last of all, the formation of committees of religion, for the avowed purpose of purifying of its popish propensities the established church. We have no authority for asserting that in the debate on the tonnage and poundage act Cromwell took any leading part. In the committees of religion he was, however, extremely forward, denouncing Neal, bishop of Winchester, as one who "gave his countenance to persons who preached flat popery," and particularly specifying the case of Dr. Manwaring, who, though declared by the last parliament incapable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment, had, by the interest of that prelate, been recently preferred to a valuable living. The observation with which Cromwell summed up this charge gives the first authentic evidence of his growing hostility to the constituted order of things. "If," said he, "these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect?" It needed but this interference with what he regarded as his own especial province, to fill up the measure of Charles's disgust and indignation. He suddenly dissolved the parliament; and throughout the extended space of not less than twelve years, endeavoured to govern by the exercise of an unfettered, and often arbitrary, prerogative.

With the great political events which occurred during this season of anarchy and misrule, we have, on the present occasion, very little concern. It is sufficient for our purpose to state, that the unconstitutional arrest of several leading members of the opposition, as well as a renewal on the king's part of all those practices which had just been declared by the authority of the three estates to be illegal, alienated from him and his advisers more and more the great bulk of the community. Among others, Cromwell retired to Huntingdon a bitter, if not an avowed, enemy to regal authority; as well as a professed

favourer of nonconformists and schismatics, whom he openly admitted into his family, and whose conventicles he regularly frequented. It is true, that in the year 1630 he permitted himself to be associated with his old schoolmaster, Dr. Beard, in a fresh commission of the peace for the borough; yet it is beyond dispute, that from the dissolution of parliament in 1629, he was, in all his habits, conversation, and ideas, an altered man. Whether he began already to anticipate those scenes of violence and confusion through which he was destined to make his way to more than royal eminence, we cannot take it upon us to determine; but that he was prepared for almost any issue, and ready to play his part in any drama, admits not, we conceive, of the shadow of a doubt.

Brief as his senatorial career had been, it probably entailed upon Cromwell heavy expenses, to which his hospitable reception of a crowd of needy nonconformists added in no inconsiderable degree. His affairs began gradually to suffer embarrassment, while an unaccountable impatience of the pre-eminence in civic matters enjoyed by Dr. Beard, produced in him a strong distaste to his native town. The consequence was, that in 1631 he sold all the land and tithes belonging to his family, and withdrew, with his mother, wife, and children, to a farm near St. Ives, which he had hired and stocked out of the residue of his patrimony. Here he spent several years, taking an active part in all parochial business, but without adding aught to his personal resources, which, on the contrary, fell off from season to season; though whether the latter result arose, as Noble and others have asserted, from an extravagant attention to family exercises of devotion, we take it not upon us to decide. We must, however, profess our conviction, that Oliver Cromwell possessed too much, not of worldly wisdom only, but of sound judgment, to pursue the line of conduct which has been attributed to him. That he restored, at this season, certain sums of money to individuals which he had won from them at play many years before, we shall not pretend to deny. There is

weighty evidence in favour of the fact; and the fact, if correctly stated, redounds to Cromwell's honour. But that he, one of the most shrewd and keen-sighted of human beings, should detain his farm-servants from their labour in the fields, that they might listen to his expositions of the scripture, or explain each man his own experiences, we find it very difficult to credit. Cromwell was unquestionably tinctured with enthusiasm, both then and at other seasons; nevertheless, Cromwell's enthusiasm can never be said to have darkened his perception, or to have stood in the way of his sedulous prosecution of his own interests.

We have said that, immediately after the dissolution of parliament in 1631, Cromwell began to connect himself undisguisedly with the nonconformist or puritanical party; it is, however, necessary to add that, during his sojourn at St. Ives, a singular degree of inconsistency took place in his behaviour in this respect. Thus we find, that at the very moment when he is represented as encouraging sectarians of all kinds, he wrote strongly to his friend, Mr. Storie, in favour of one Dr. Willis, a pious, and, as it would appear, highly orthodox clergyman of the established church. The letter is in itself so curious, and exhibits the religious opinions of the writer in so favourable a point of view, that we cannot deny to the reader the gratification of perusing it.

"Mr. Storie,—Among the catalogue of those good workes which your fellowe citycenes and our countriemen have doun, this will not be reckoned for the least, that they have provided for the feedinge of soules; buildinge of hospittals provides for mens bodyes; to build material temples is judged a work of pietye; but they that procure spirituall food, they that build up spirituall temples, they are the mene trulye charitable, trulye pious. Such a work was this your erectinge the lecture in our cuntrie, in the which you placed Dr. Willis, a man of goodnesse and industrie, and ability to do good every way; not stint of any I know in

England; and I am persuaded that sithence his arrivinge the Lord by him hath wrought much good amongst us. It only remains now, that he whoe first moved you to this, put you forward to the continuance thereof; it was the Lord, and therefore to him lift we up our hearts that he would perfect itt. And surely, Mr. Storie, it were a pitious thinge to see a lecture fall in the hands of soe manie able and godly men, as I am perswaded the founders of this are, in theise times wherein we see they are suppressed with too much haste and violence by the enemies of God his truth: far be it that so much guilt should sticke to your hands, who live in a citye so renowned for the clear shininge light of the gospell. You know, Mr. Storie, that to withdraw the paye is to lett fall the lecture, for whoe goeth a warfare on his own cost? I beseech you, therefore, in the bowells of Jesus Christ, putt it forward, and let the good man have his paye. The soules of God his children will bless you for it, and soe will I; and ever rest your lovinge servant in the Lord,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

This letter, addressed to Mr. Storie, at the sign of the Dog, in the Royal Exchange, London, bore date the 11th January, 1635. In the year following, the writer's uncle, sir Thomas Stewart, died, and he himself became possessed, as was stated, a few pages ago, of an estate, chiefly in copyhold and titheries, of the annual value of 500*l.* He resigned his farm immediately; and removing into the isle of Ely, received numerous favours at the hands of the chapter, under whom some of his best leases were held: nevertheless, he soon became discontented with his situation, and meditated another and a still greater change in his mode of life. Either impelled by disappointed ambition, or disgusted with the tyranny which he affected to behold in all matters whether of church or state, he resolved to abandon his native country for ever, and to try his fortune, in company with his cousin, Hampden, as a colonist in lord Warwick's settle-

ment of New England, in North America. With this view he once more converted the whole of his property into money, and had actually embarked, Hampden taking a passage in the same vessel, when an order of council, suddenly issued, compelled them both to abandon the enterprise. How often and how deeply the king found cause to repent of this arbitrary step, every reader of history must be aware.

With feelings more and more ruffled, and prejudices more and more inflamed, Cromwell retired to Ely, where he continued to brood over his own and his country's wrongs, till all his ideas became confounded in a sense of implacable hatred towards the existing government. To such an extent indeed was this humour carried, that his very reason seems to have become occasionally unsettled; at least Dr. Simcott assures us, that "his patient was a most splenetic man, and had fancies about the cross which stood in the town, and that he had been called up to him at midnight, and such unseasonable hours, very many times, on a strong fancy which made him believe he was then dying." But there occurred at this juncture an event, which, calling him again into the turmoil of public life, at once hindered a mind naturally active from preying upon itself, and enabled him to add largely to his stock of popularity. At the request of the earl of Bedford and other extensive landed proprietors, a grant of money was made by the king in order to facilitate the draining of the fens in the counties of Lincoln, Cambridge, Northampton, and Huntingdon, on condition that a certain portion of the level thus recovered should be awarded to the crown, as a remuneration for the expenses incurred. With this arrangement the common people in general expressed themselves highly displeased, inasmuch as it went to deprive them of the right of commonage, which, as often as a drought prevailed, they had hitherto enjoyed over large tracts of the marsh. Cromwell was not slow in espousing the cause of the poor against the rich: he stood forward boldly as the people's friend, and exercised so much of talent and

ingenuity in that character, that, in the face both of court influence and the avowed wishes of the aristocracy, he gained his point. The country suffered a serious loss by the delay of measures which have since been pursued to the best effect; but Cromwell became a gainer to a prodigious amount, by increasing his own influence in the neighbourhood, and attracting towards himself the eyes of other gifted and aspiring patriots.

The above event took place in 1639. In the year following, Charles was again reduced to the necessity of calling together a parliament; and Cromwell, partly through the interference of Hampden, partly through the admiration excited by his late successful contest with the higher powers, was chosen to represent the city of Cambridge.* Of his pecuniary circumstances at this time it is not very easy to speak in decided terms; yet there are facts on record, which lead us to believe that the statements of those who charge him with absolute bankruptcy, are, to use the mildest expression, greatly overcharged. It is asserted by the author of the "Mystery of the good old Cause," that there were letters of Cromwell to be seen in the hands of a person of quality, where he mentions his whole estate to amount to about 1300*l.*, which he intended to lay out upon a purchase of drained fen lands. We know likewise, that at the very commencement of the troubles he contributed 500*l.* towards raising a force for the suppression of the Irish rebellion; while from his own private purse he laid out 100*l.* in the hire of wagons, that the earl of Manchester might the more speedily take the field against his sovereign. Nevertheless, the descriptions of his attire, and personal appearance in general, which we find in the pages of contemporary writers, seem to apply only to an individual in the last stage of poverty. "The first time that ever I took notice of him," says sir Philip Warwick, "was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young

* A different account is given of this election by Heath, but his story is too absurd to require notice.

gentleman, for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable; and his eloquence full of fervor; for the subject matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Brynn's, who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council-table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened very much my reverence unto that great council, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom, out of no ill will to him, I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real but usurped power,—having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company — in my own eye, when I was for six weeks together a prisoner in his serjeant's hands, and daily waiting at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic presence and comely deportment." In like manner, Dr. South, an authority much less to be trusted, asks, "Who that beheld such a bankrupt beggarly fellow as Cromwell first enter the parliament house, with a thread-bare torn cloak and a greasy hat, and perhaps neither of them paid for, could have suspected that in the course of so few years he should, by the murder of one king and the banishment of another, ascend the throne, and be invested in the royal robes, and want nothing of the state of a king but the changing of his hat into a crown." This last torrent of abuse weighs very little with us, inasmuch as it flowed from the pen

of one who had once been to the protector as servile as he became after the restoration vindictive against his memory ; yet even Warwick's account must be taken as the portrait of a man who either could not afford to dress like others in his station, or affected singularity even in his personal appearance. The probability is, that the latter conjecture is the most true ; for it is beyond dispute, that no man knew better than Oliver Cromwell how to trim his sails to the merest breath of public favour.

We must refer our readers to other and more appropriate sources for information as to the train of deplorable occurrences which imposed upon Charles the stern necessity of meeting the representatives of his people on the present occasion. A series of political blunders, originating chiefly in the mistaken zeal of archbishop Laud, having involved him in a quarrel with the presbyterians of Scotland, he found himself unexpectedly called upon to raise and equip an army, with which he marched as far as York to oppose an inroad of that body. Here, trusting little to the fidelity of his own officers, he entered into a convention with the rebels; but he had scarcely disbanded his troops ere the Scots again appeared in arms, and again threatened to carry fire and sword into the heart of England. Charles was not ignorant that in these daring proceedings the rebels were secretly encouraged by the leaders of the popular party at home: nevertheless, his resources were exhausted; no more loans could be raised; and the summoning of a parliament became unavoidable. It met in April, 1640, and entered at once upon the discussion of points the most remote from those which the king had desired both houses to consider. Charles could not brook the tone of arrogance and disrespect in which the commons thought fit to legislate; and hence, on the twenty-third day after the members took the oaths, and before a single bill was passed, or a single subsidy voted, this parliament underwent the fate of all its predecessors, and was dissolved.

Thus deserted by the constitutional guardians of the public purse, at a moment when the peace of the realm

was threatened by a powerful enemy, Charles again had recourse to measures, all of them calculated to widen the breach which unfortunately existed between him and his subjects. After seizing on 40,000*l.* worth of bullion belonging to certain Spanish merchants, which had been deposited for safety in the Mint, Charles threw himself on the benevolence of the higher classes, from whom, in the form of loans, some of them not very cheerfully afforded, he obtained in all about 300,000*l.* With this sum he enrolled a second army, part of which he sent forward to harass the advance of the Scots, while he himself made preparations to follow with the remainder so soon as the state of their equipment would permit. It is well known that the king's advanced corps received a severe check near Newcastle. The consequence was, that when he arrived at York, he again found it more convenient to treat than to fight; and having summoned a council of peers to his aid, an assembly not witnessed in England since the feudal times, he consulted with them as to the propriety of consenting to a cessation of arms. Even this step, though humiliating to his dignity as a monarch, served in no respect to ameliorate the condition of Charles. The Scots insisted that a new parliament should be summoned, for the redress of the many wrongs of which their English brethren complained; and the king, hopeless of making head against an entire nation, was forced to give way. He did summon a parliament for the 3d of November ensuing; a truce was immediately granted; and he returned to London, that he might meet the last assembly which was ever in that place to gratify him with the poor tribute of verbal allegiance.

In this, the memorable Long Parliament, Oliver Cromwell again took his seat, being a second time returned as one of the representatives for the city of Cambridge. Whatever his former views and wishes may have been, there is no doubt that he now looked forward to a mighty crisis, and that he had resolved to throw the whole weight of his powerful influence into the scale of the republican faction. That he ventured already to mark

out the precise course of his own personal elevation, we are not prepared to affirm. As yet no human judgment could determine how the elements of confusion would array themselves; though it needed but a slender stock of foresight to perceive that the dissolution of society was at hand. It is not, therefore, probable that even Cromwell would presume to chalk out for himself any definite line of conduct, to which it would be necessary under all circumstances to adhere. But though the case might be, and doubtless was so, the whole tenor of his after life, not less than our acquaintance with the singularity of his temperament,—cautious though enthusiastic,—calculating though superstitious,—ambitious to the greatest degree, yet combining with high aspirations the most perfect self command,—these circumstances united compel us to believe, that personal aggrandisement was with him, from the very commencement of the present session, the grand actuating principle both of speech and action. Hence the fervent zeal with which he supported every measure of which the tendency was to hinder all approach towards a reconciliation between the king and the parliament. When his majesty applied for the means of discharging the arrears due to his own army, Cromwell was among the first to suggest that a grant be made out of which both the loyal and the rebel forces be paid. He was particularly active in promoting petitions against the bishops, on the ground of severe proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. In pressing for the trial and condemnation of Strafford, he yielded to none in violence; and he took a prominent part in preparing and recommending to the house, that most arrogant of all deeds, the Remonstrance. In a word, he acted on every occasion in full conformity with the sentiment which he himself once expressed to lord Falkland and Mr. Warwick; "I can tell," said he, "what I would not have; but I cannot tell what I would have."

As it is not our purpose to write a connected history of the grand rebellion, we abstain from giving even a

sketch of the proximate causes which led to a final rupture between the king and the commons. Enough is done when we state that Charles, passing at once from an excess of obstinacy to a culpable weakness, abandoned one by one, all the advantages which a display of ordinary firmness would have given him. In yielding to the clamour against Strafford, he virtually signed away the independence of his crown; while his ratification of that act which rendered the parliament indissoluble, except by a vote of the two houses, laid him prostrate at the feet of his enemies. Last of all came the demand, that he should resign to parliament all control over the fleet, the castles, and the army. Charles would not consent to this: "Should I grant their demands," said he, when the propositions were submitted to him, "I may be waited on bare-headed; I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty may be continued to me, and 'the king's authority, signified by both houses,' may still be the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead); but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king."

While things were in this state, and the king, removing from London to York, appeared, as well as the parliament, to pause upon the brink of civil war, Cromwell, who had long foreseen in what issue matters must terminate, boldly put an end to hesitation by precipitating hostilities. At his own personal hazard and expense he had already sent down to the country a supply of arms for the equipment of a troop of cavalry, which he had secretly raised among the more enthusiastic followers of the nonconformists. He now, in the beginning of 1642, while as yet the royal standard had not been hoisted, put himself openly at their head. Nor was this all. Marching suddenly upon the castle of Cambridge, he made himself master of the place, and of the maga-

zine contained within its walls, while he daringly intercepted a quantity of plate, which the heads of the university were preparing to send northward for the use of the king. Thus may Cromwell be said to have brought on that desperate struggle which, during so many years, fattened the soil of England with the best blood of her sons; for though the events which followed would have doubtless taken place had no such movements been made, it is beyond dispute that these enterprises, in themselves neither important nor hazardous, hurried forward, in a very palpable degree, the mighty catastrophe.

Though there was still an apparent reluctance on both sides to make the final appeal to the sword, the king on the one hand, and the parliament on the other, began, so soon as Cromwell's proceedings obtained publicity, to assume an attitude of defiance. Charles, without assigning any specific reason for the act, issued an order of array, which was conveyed to the sheriffs of the several counties, and, in part, at least, carried into effect. The parliament, again, passed an act, by which it was declared high treason to take up arms, except by virtue of a warrant signed by the speaker. This was followed by a commission authorising the earl of Essex and others to raise men for the service of the state; and hence almost every town, village, and hamlet throughout England, exhibited the melancholy spectacle of a place of military muster. Cromwell did not wait for any definite instructions touching the mode of procedure necessary in such a case. With the indifference to responsibility which is not often acquired, except by a lengthened exercise of delegated power, he moved rapidly into Hertfordshire, where he seized the high sheriff when in the act of reading a proclamation in which lord Essex, with his abettors and adherents, were pronounced traitors. He then passed into Suffolk, where the friends of the king were exerting themselves to enroll troops for the service of their master; and made prisoners, at Lowestoffe, of sir Thomas Barber, sir John Peters, and twenty other gentlemen of distinction. His activity and zeal were

not slow in attracting the notice of the parliament. A colonel's commission was granted to him, and, besides being authorised to increase his troop to a regiment of horse, he was joined with lord Manchester in the chief command of the six associated counties,—Essex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.

While such was the state of affairs in the southern counties, those of the north, unawed by the presence of a parliamentary force, declared generally for the king. The nobility and gentry had indeed, on his first arrival among them, formed themselves into a body-guard for the defence of his person; and when, on the 22d of August, the royal standard was raised *, multitudes of the lower orders, of the yeomen and the tenantry, gathered round it. There was, however, a sad deficiency of arms and ammunition, among these hardy and high-spirited levies. The king having failed in an attempt to surprise Hull, was forced to depend on such supplies as the queen could from time to time transmit, in the face of a hostile fleet, from Holland; and hence, when he began his march southward, it was with an army numerically feeble, in consequence of the absence of means with which to equip a stronger. Nevertheless he pushed forward to Nottingham, confident in the justice of his cause, where an attempt was again made to obviate the necessity of bloodshed by negotiation. It failed, as might have been anticipated; upon which the royalists directing their march to the westward, so as to skirt the borders of Wales, arrived, towards the middle of October, at Shrewsbury.

So early as the beginning of August the parliament had thrown aside the mask, by directing sir William Waller to invest Portsmouth, of which colonel Goring, an officer friendly to the royal cause, held the command. It was this daring act of rebellion, indeed, which decided Charles

* Poor Charles was doomed to be the subject of many evil omens. In addition to the beating which he received in childhood from Cromwell, the Virgilian lots declared both against him and lord Falkland in Oxford; and, on the present occasion, a violent gust of wind overturned the standard almost as soon as it had been raised.

as to the absolute necessity of unfurling the royal standard; and he now took the field with the hope, rather than the expectation, that the assailants might be diverted from their purpose. But the delay to which he unfortunately consented at Nottingham, proved fatal to that design. Portsmouth, indifferently provided for, and defended by a garrison less trustworthy than their chief, submitted after a short siege, the men passing over to the ranks of the republicans, while Goring with difficulty escaped to Holland. In the mean time Essex, calling in his detached corps, marched upon Northampton, where, with an army of 15,000 men, he stood ready to dispute with his sovereign the great road to the capital. Had he pushed forward at once to Nottingham, it is in the highest degree probable that an end would have been put to the civil war; but this he neglected to do. The consequence was, that the king being enabled to execute an oblique movement, not only turned his enemy's position, but gathered strength at every step, till, on his arrival at Shrewsbury, his numbers were swelled to the full amount of 10,000 men.

Alarmed for his own communications, and jealous of the safety of London, Essex broke up from Northampton, and marching in a direction parallel with the royal army, took up a new line at Worcester. Here he determined to await the approach of Charles; but the latter, aware of the superior strength of the enemy, and anxious to spare the effusion of blood, manœuvred to shun the encounter. With this view he moved rapidly along the least frequented of the by-roads, and masked the operation so well, that he had actually passed Essex, ere that officer was aware that his adversary had quitted Shrewsbury.

A rapid pursuit was, however, instantly begun; and on the evening of the 22d of October, after a sharp skirmish, in which a body of the king's horse under prince Rupert overthrew the advanced cavalry of the republicans, the latter entered the village of Kenton, just as the royalists were halted for the night at Edgecoat. As

these places were not more than three miles apart, it was pronounced, in a council of war which Charles promptly summoned, both impracticable and disgraceful any longer to shun an engagement. The king, therefore, as soon as daylight returned, drew up his army along a range of heights called Edgehill, where, with his infantry in the centre, and his cavalry covering each flank, he determined, by the advice of lord Lindsey, to receive the attack.

In the battle of Edgehill, which, as our readers cannot be ignorant, ended without awarding a decisive victory to either party, Oliver Cromwell took no share. According to some accounts his absence from the field was inevitable, and proved a source of deep mortification to himself; according to others, he purposely kept aloof, from motives either of personal fear or political jealousy. "He, with his troop of horse," says lord Holles, "came not in; impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off." How far this statement may be credited, coming as it does from an avowed enemy, we are not called upon to decide; but if the future protector did absent himself from the battle, when he might have done otherwise, it were worse than childish to attribute the circumstance to personal fear. It may be, however, that here, as well as elsewhere, Cromwell permitted affairs to take their course, because he saw that the whole merit of a victory which it rested with him to secure, would be awarded to another; and if so, then is his conduct strictly in agreement with that deep and resolute selfishness, for which we have already given, and shall again find ample cause to give, him credit.

While Essex retreated upon Coventry, the king, after reducing Banbury, in which there was a garrison of 1000 men, pressed forward upon Oxford. Here efforts

were again made to amuse and perplex him with proposals to treat. But though still eager for peace, and ready to make large sacrifices for the purpose of securing it, Charles did not interrupt his progress. He advanced by Colnbrook and Brentford as far as Turnham Green, taking various strong places, and making numerous prisoners by the way; while Essex, hurrying to London by a different road, exerted himself strenuously in collecting another and a much more numerous army. With this, which amounted to full 24,000 men, he threw himself between the king and the city; and the royalists, standing more in awe of numbers than became men engaged in a desperate cause, abstained with unaccountable timidity from attacking him.

It is not our province either to describe or to account for the chain of events which induced the king, first, to entangle himself in a labyrinth of fruitless negotiation, and then to fall back from the gates of London to winter quarters in Oxford. These are matters, the details of which belong rather to the chronicler of one of the most striking eras in our general history, than to the military biographer of Cromwell, whose part in the drama was, as yet, neither very prominent nor very accurately defined. It is, indeed, a matter of doubt where he principally exerted himself, as well as to what ends his exertions were, during the progress of these events, directed. As we behold him, however, in the following spring, exercising the chief military command in the associated counties, we are disposed to believe that, during the winter of 1642, he found ample employment in preserving these in their not very willing subjection to the power of parliament. But a wider field for the exercise of his extraordinary military talent was already in preparation; nor was he slow in entering upon it.

We have alluded to the promptitude which Cromwell displayed in raising troops for the service of the parliament, before war had been formally declared between the opposite parties in the state. It will be necessary, in order to elucidate more fully the character

of that great man's mind, not less than to account for the signal services which his regiment on every occasion performed, to explain the principle on which he proceeded in making choice of his recruits. We learn from Whitelocke, that "most of Cromwell's men were freeholders and freeholders' sons, who upon matter of conscience engaged in the quarrel; and, being thus well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would, as one man, stand firmly, and charge desperately." Why he was thus particular he himself stated, when detailing the substance of a conversation which he had held with his friend and relative Hampden, in his place in the house of commons. "I had a very good friend," said he, "and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory was very grateful to you all, Mr. John Hampden. At my first going into this engagement, I saw their men were beaten at every hand; I did indeed; and I desired him that he would make some addition to my lord Essex's army, and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing men in, as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows that I lie not. Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and, said I, their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? Truly I prescribed him in this manner conscientiously, and truly I did tell him, you must get men of a spirit, and, take it not ill what I say (I know you will not), of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still. I told him so, I did, seeing he was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him that I would do something in it. I did so, and truly I must needs say that to you (impute

it to what you please), I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten; and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually."

Of Cromwell and his soldiers, sir Philip Warwick accordingly gives the following graphic description: — "They had all," says the loyal knight, "either naturally the phanatick humour, or soon imbibed it; but a herd of this sort of men being by him drawn together, he himselfe, like Mahomet, having transports of phansy, and withal a crafty understanding, knowing that naturall principles, though not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of naturall and politick ends, made use of the zeal and credulity of those persons, teaching them, as they too readily taught themselves, that they engaged for God, when he led them against his vicegerent the king; and where this opinion mett with a naturall courage, it made them the bolder, and too often the crueller. And these men, habituated more to spiritual pride than carnall riot and intemperance, so consequently having bin industrious and active in their former callings and professions, where naturall courage wanted, zeal supplied its place; and at first they chose rather to dye than to flye, and custom removed fear of danger; and afterwards, finding the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder, and of preferment suitable to activity and merit, the lucrative post made gaine seem to them a naturall member of godliness." Such troops as these, animated by the most powerful of all feelings, enured to privations, patient under hardships, obedient to the strictest discipline, and guided by a genius of the highest order, might be annihilated, but could not possibly sustain a defeat.

To fill up a single troop with men of this stamp, proved a task of easy accomplishment; to complete a regiment of more than ordinary numerical strength, seems to have been scarcely less so. Nevertheless Cromwell would not lead them into the presence of the enemy, till he had in some degree tried their firmness. The

following account, though taken from Heath, an unscrupulous writer, appears highly deserving of credit. "Upon the first muster of his troop, he (Cromwell) having privily placed twelve resolute fellows in an ambuscade (it being near some of the king's garrisons), upon a signal, at the appointed time, the same ambush, with a trumpet sounding, galloped furiously towards the main body of their comrades, of whom some twenty instantly fled out of fear and dismay." No punishment was inflicted upon the fugitives, nor were any reproaches applied to them. They were commanded on the spot to surrender up their horses and equipments, and coolly dismissed, that their places might be supplied by men of sterner temperament.

We will not pause to remark upon the consummate skill which Cromwell displayed in these elementary arrangements. A man perfectly read in human nature (and without a thorough knowledge of human nature no man need aspire to the character of a great general) would alone have adopted such expedients, both in the collection and training of recruits; nor will it be found that in handling his troops, as the art of directing their movements in the field is technically termed, he was more at fault. In the winter of 1642 we find him at the head of a single regiment of cavalry, keeping six whole counties in subjection, and overawing multitudes of royalists. In the spring of 1643, his corps had increased to 2000 men, all of them devoted to their leader, and prepared to perish at his bidding. Nor, to do him justice, was Cromwell disposed to deal with them under the screen of paltry subterfuges or hollow prevarications. While other chiefs affected still to be in arms for their sovereign, he often assured his men "that he would not cozen them by the perplexed expression in his commission *to fight for king and parliament;* and that therefore, if the king chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him as upon any private man: and if their consciences would

not let them do the like, he advised them not to list themselves under him."

Such was the state of Cromwell's preparations, when the extraordinary success of the royalists in the north induced him to march beyond the limits of his own command. He penetrated into Lincolnshire at the head of twelve troops of horse, disarming, as he went along, all suspected persons *; nor did any great while elapse ere he and his Iron-sides (for so his troopers came to be designated) found an opportunity of proving their decided superiority over every thing which the enemy could oppose to them. Not far from Grantham they were met by a flying corps of cavalry, far surpassing (according to Cromwell's own statement, at least doubling) them in numbers. Not the slightest hesitation was made as to risking an action; and the result was a decisive, almost a bloodless, victory. Receiving the enemy's fire, without caring to return it, except by the skirmishers which covered his line, Cromwell led his people at once to the charge; and as the royalists imprudently stood to abide the shock, he overthrew them in a moment. They fled in all directions, closely and hotly pursued; and their loss, both in killed and prisoners, was considerable. But this was only the beginning of the triumphs which these enthusiasts were destined to work out. Towards the close of June, they effected a still more important service, by bringing relief to the town of Gainsborough, and cutting to pieces the flower of the army by which it was menaced.

The corps of cavalry, of the destruction of which we have just given an account, formed part of a light and independent army, with which general Cavendish, brother to the earl of Newcastle, endeavoured to recover Lincolnshire to the cause of the king. Among other measures, he made a movement for the purpose of laying siege to Gainsborough, of which the parliamentary general, lord Willoughby, had recently made himself master; and so

* Among others he visited his own uncle, sir Oliver Cromwell, whom, though he would not stand before him, except uncovered, he plundered of all his plate, as well as of the arms in his house.

alarmed was the latter at the intelligence which reached him, that he made up his mind to evacuate the place. In this juncture, Cromwell, who calculated on the moral as well as the physical effects of a repulse, boldly threw himself with his regiment between Cavendish and the town. The enemy outnumbered him by three to one, and occupied the summit of an acclivity, along the base of which ran a high fence, passable only by a single gateway. Through this, in defiance of a heavy fire, Cromwell caused his men to file. He formed them, as they gained the other side, section by section, and charging furiously up the hill, again won, by sheer impetuosity, a signal victory. Astonished at the boldness of the attack, fatigued with recent marches, and considerably disorganised by previous habits of plunder, the royalists received the charge with languor and hesitation. They were broken and dispersed, one wing fleeing in one direction, another in another. Cromwell, on the contrary, keeping his people steadily in hand, wheeled round *en masse* upon the body which held best together. He drove it pell-mell into a bog, where his men, wound up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, put all, including Cavendish himself, to the sword. This done, he drew off in excellent order towards Boston, retreating slowly from the superior numbers which threatened him, but presenting at every stage a bold front to his pursuers, and appearing to invite rather than to shun an encounter.

It was high time for the republican cause in the north that some such display should be made; for hitherto the tide of affairs had run steadily against it. The battle of Atherton Moor, by destroying their field force in that quarter, left Newcastle at liberty to follow almost any plan of campaign; and had he persevered in that which at one moment he seemed willing to adopt, a result widely different from what actually befell might have attended the war. Unfortunately for the king, however, personal dislike towards prince Rupert hindered him from marching, as he was required to do, upon Essex.

He could not brook the idea of serving under any one, and, least of all, under the nephew of his sovereign. He therefore gladly yielded to the first feeble remonstrance offered by the gentlemen of Yorkshire, against removing to such a distance from their native county. At the same time, the Hothams, repenting of the course which they had adopted at the commencement of the troubles, opened with him a negotiation for the surrender of Hull, a place of which, both from its situation and resources, the royalists of the north were exceedingly anxious to obtain possession. Having recovered Gainsborough, therefore, and made himself master of Lincoln, he unexpectedly paused in his career, and finally retracing his steps, sat down, on the 2d of September, before Hull. Though too weak to hinder this movement, the intelligence of the republicans was such, that they were not for an instant kept in ignorance as to its grand influencing motive. The Hothams were suddenly arrested; and the command of Hull being committed to lord Fairfax, that officer made every preparation for a determined and obstinate defence. Meanwhile Manchester, set free from his charge at London by the ill-advised march of the king towards Gloucester, drew together about 7000 infantry, with which he hastened to reinforce the corps of Cromwell and Willoughby in Lincolnshire. This junction was effected at Boston on the 9th of October; and the command of all the cavalry, to which a considerable addition had been made by the coming in of sir Thomas Fairfax from Hull, being intrusted to Cromwell, on the 11th the campaign opened in earnest.

Though himself finding ample occupation in the siege of Hull, to which neither his *materiel* nor the composition of his army was adequate, Newcastle had not been inattentive to the preservation of his late conquests. In addition to the garrisons left in Lincoln and Gainsborough, a strong corps, consisting chiefly of horse and dragoons, occupied the county under sir John Henderson, an old and gallant soldier, who desired nothing so much as that he might find an opportunity of measuring

his sword with Cromwell. The wish which the brave veteran had been heard frequently to express, was destined soon to receive its accomplishment. On the 12th of October, intelligence reached him that Oliver, with the republican cavalry, had halted in the vicinity of Horncastle, while the infantry, under Manchester, were still a long day's march in the rear. He promptly drew together a force very superior to that which his enemy commanded, and pushing forward at a brisk pace, came up, a little before noon, with the rebels. Cromwell had twice already triumphed against odds not less fearful; he felt that he must now triumph again, or be content to forfeit his influence with the men. The latter was an alternative not to be thought of for a moment; so he drew up his people, and made ready to stake both reputation and life itself on the cast of a die.

Whether it was that Henderson's horses were blown, or that, like many other old officers, he chose to fight only according to rule, he halted as soon as he beheld the dispositions of the enemy, and threw forward his dragoons to skirmish. Of these Cromwell took no notice; but giving the words "Truth and Peace," and at the same time uplifting a psalm, he commanded his enthusiasts, in the name of the Most High, to charge home. They received a volley as they approached, which did little or no execution. A second fire from the cavalier line brought down the commander's horse; but his men still pressed on; and in five minutes the two corps were intermingled, and at handstrokes. Cromwell, while in the act of rising, was again struck to the earth by a heavy blow; it stunned him, and he lay for a few seconds insensible; but he no sooner recovered, than he dismounted one of his troopers, and joined fiercely in the *mêlée*. It was desperate, but brief; for the royalists, broken and amazed, gave way in all directions, and were chased, with prodigious slaughter, to the gates of Lincoln.

The effects of this victory were deeply felt both by the conquerors and the vanquished. Newcastle himself,

having suffered severely in a sortie, no sooner heard of it than he raised the siege of Hull; while Henderson, taking with him every disposable man, marched back to join his leader in Yorkshire. Manchester and Cromwell, on the other hand, employed themselves to the best purpose throughout the remainder of the season. They reduced several castles and fortified towns, levied contributions on the inhabitants, checked and restrained the excursions of the royalist partisans, and strengthened the garrison of Newark; nor did they retire into winter quarters till the severity of the weather absolutely compelled them. Yet even then Cromwell was not inactive. Obtaining a new commission, as lieutenant of the isle of Ely, he busied himself during the close months in raising funds, by the merciless plunder of the colleges at Cambridge, and of the cathedrals of Peterborough and Ely; in each of which he is said to have perpetrated enormities disgraceful to him as a man, though intelligible as proceeding from a fanatic.

Meanwhile a new and a more decisive step than any on which they had hitherto adventured, and to the promotion of which Cromwell applied all his influence, was taken by the parliament of England. So early as the month of August, 1643, sir Henry Vane had arrived at Edinburgh with a pressing invitation to the presbyterians of Scotland, that they would come to the assistance of their persecuted brethren of the south. He was received in the most enthusiastic manner by the heads of the party; and a proof being exhibited that the solemn league and covenant had been formally ratified by the English parliament, all true Scotchmen, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, were summoned to attend the standard of the Lord. On the 19th of January, 1644, in defiance of a season more than usually inclement, 20,000 men, most of them veteran soldiers, and led on by experienced officers, passed the Tweed at Berwick. They made an attempt to surprise Newcastle, but failed, the marquis [illegible] anticipated them. They then crossed the Tyne, [illegible]g six regiments behind to blockade the place; and,

closely watched by the royalists, 14,000 strong, they arrived on the 4th of March at Sunderland. This sudden appearance of a Scottish army in Northumberland and Durham, at a moment when the scales were evenly balanced between the parliament and the king, could scarcely fail to operate fatally against the interests of the latter. In addition to the preponderating superiority in point of numbers secured to his enemies, the derangement of all the plans which his commanders had formed, affected him very deeply; nor did any great while elapse ere the evils arising out of it showed themselves in a form even more distressing than had been anticipated. Sir Thomas Fairfax, finding that the whole of Yorkshire had been left to the care of three or four thousand men under colonel Bellasis, marched from Hull, came up with him at Selby, and gave him a total defeat. He pursued the fugitives towards York, of which he would have doubtless obtained possession, had not Newcastle been made aware of its danger in time; nor could the marquis himself hope to preserve so important a city, otherwise than by throwing the whole of his infantry within the walls. He did so; but the measure served only to defer a misfortune which destiny had resolved to inflict. The Scots trode closely upon his steps; they joined their camp to that of the Fairfaxes, and the combined armies, within the space of a few days, formally invested the place.

The siege had not long been formed when Manchester and Cromwell arrived, bringing with them a very important accession both of numerical strength and of military talent. They broke off at once an armistice into which Newcastle had contrived to inveigle the republicans, and pushed their advances by night and day with the utmost vigour. On the 24th of June a furious sortie was attempted, in which both parties suffered severely, though the garrison was finally repulsed with loss. On the 30th, however, intelligence arrived which caused an immediate change of plan on the part of the besiegers. Prince Rupert, it appeared, having been commanded by

the king to raise the siege at all hazards, was advancing with hasty strides; and his numbers being estimated at not less than 20,000 men, it seemed quite hopeless to think of meeting him in the field, and continuing at the same time the blockade of York. After a brief consultation, therefore, the siege was abandoned; the guards of the trenches and other detached corps were called in, and the whole army moving off, concentrated at a place called Marston Moor, about five miles distant from the city.

The information which brought about this change in the disposition of the parliamentary forces was not incorrect. On the 1st of July prince Rupert, his own corps being strongly reinforced by Newcastle's cavalry under Goring, arrived within a single march of York; whence, leaving his troops in position, he hurried forward under a slight escort to ascertain the condition of the beleaguered town. To his great surprise he found that the siege had been formally raised; that from two sides of the city even the trifling restraint of patrols and videttes were withdrawn; and hence, that every facility in re-victualling, and otherwise preparing it against future attacks, was afforded. Nevertheless Rupert was not satisfied: he had been instructed by the king, in the letter which directed him northward, not merely to relieve York, but to engage and destroy the Scots; and he now prepared, in defiance of the admonitions and warnings of Newcastle, to attempt at least the perfect accomplishment of that order. It has already been stated, that between the prince and the marquis no cordiality of sentiment prevailed: the latter therefore, finding that his advice was received with coldness, ceased to offer it; and Rupert, taking the entire responsibility upon himself, gave directions for the garrison to join his army.

In the meanwhile the republicans, anticipating no pursuit, began their march southward, with the design of retaining in subjection such places, both in Yorkshire and Lancashire, as had recently submitted to their arms. They had proceeded some miles on the Tadcaster road,

when intelligence arrived that the royalists were advancing; and not many minutes later, the rear was threatened by a cloud of Rupert's horse. Without a moment's delay the van received orders to retrace its steps; while those behind hastily drew up on a spot of ground as favourable as the circumstances of the case would allow. A broad and deep drain ran along a portion of their front; towards the right the ground was considerably broken, hedges and copses, intersected by narrow lanes, forming there a species of natural entrenchment; but the left was wholly without cover, the face of the country assuming in that quarter the complexion of a barren heath. In general the ground was flat, with here and there an undulation, not inconvenient for the disposition of a few guns; while remotely either flank stood open, the very hedges stretching only to a certain distance, where they terminated in the moor. Independently, therefore, of the tactics of the age, which seem to have arbitrarily planted the cavalry on the wings of all armies, such a disposition of that arm appears to have been on the present occasion judicious; as was also the establishment of a reserve of horse in support of the second line of infantry.

Though the troops began to form so early as ten o'clock in the morning, noon had passed ere all were in position: for the advanced guard had pushed so far a-head of the main body, that they were now unavoidably thrown considerably to the rear. As they came up, however, they took their stations, the right under sir Thomas Fairfax, the centre under lord Fairfax and general Leven; while the left, though commanded ostensibly by lord Manchester, was in reality guided by Oliver Cromwell. Meanwhile Rupert, in part overawed by the bold front presented to him, in part restrained by the languid movements of his own rear, could only gaze upon these formations, without attempting to molest them. So soon as his artillery came up, indeed, he caused several pieces to open, which were promptly answered by those of the enemy; but, contrary to all precedent, he showed

no disposition to assume the initiative in the action. Thus it was from five o'clock till half past six, when the two armies, in splendid array, continued quietly to face each other; at seven the parliamentarians quitted their ground, and the battle immediately began.

So many and such contradictory records have come down to us of this by far the most important action during the civil war, that it is not very easy to offer of it any thing like a rational or minute description. That it was obstinately maintained on both sides, all chroniclers are agreed; but there is the most remarkable discrepancy in almost every point of detail, not only between the writers belonging to opposite parties, but amongst men who on other subjects hold the same, or nearly the same, language. It is even doubtful where the strife began, whether on the right, the left, or the centre; while in the parts assigned to the various leaders during the combat itself, not two men speak alike. Under such circumstances, we cannot venture to give more than the general impression produced upon our own minds by a perusal of numerous contradictory authorities, warning our readers all the while that they are free to judge for themselves as to the credibility or otherwise of the statements here recorded.

Prince Rupert had strongly occupied the drain, by planting there four brigades of infantry, which were supported on their right by a body of horse, scarcely adequate to the important purpose. Against these the first movements seem to have been made; for lord Manchester's foot charging the ditch in front, his cavalry swept round, in order to clear the plain of the squadron, and attack it in the rear. As long as the "Ironsides" came not into play, and they were under the necessity of making a considerable detour in order to reach their antagonists, the battle was maintained with great obstinacy. Secure behind the ditch, the royalist musketeers poured upon the advancing column a ceaseless and well-directed fire, while a battery in their rear plunged heavily from an eminence into the parliamentary ranks as they endeavoured to form. It was to no pur-

pose that the republicans brought forward a couple of guns, with which they answered this cannonade; the men fell by whole sections, and, brave as the officers confessedly were, not all their exertions availed to carry on the survivors beyond the first line of fire. But a very different result ensued, so soon as Cromwell with his chosen band fell in. Having cleared the broken ground, and gained the open moor, they drove with their accustomed impetuosity upon the king's cavalry, which, outnumbered to a great degree, and in part defeated by their own apprehensions, offered hardly a moment's resistance. The republicans next charged and took the guns, sabring the artillerymen beside them, after which they rode leisurely and in excellent order towards the drain; but the infantry stationed there had seen how affairs went, and stood not to receive the shock: they abandoned the vantage ground, thus enabling the republican pikemen to cross, and suffered considerably while retreating, though in good order, across the plain, from repeated charges of the cavalry.

While these things were passing on the left, the right of the parliamentary army not only failed to make any impression, but sustained a signal reverse. The ground on which they stood, though favourable to men acting on the defensive, told severely against them in a forward movement; for they could advance only through lanes and alleys in narrow columns, each of which, as it endeavoured to emerge into the open country, was swept by a heavy fire from the whole line of the royalists. It was at this juncture, when his infantry had been repeatedly driven back, that Fairfax ordered his cavalry to charge; the foot opening to the right and left, in order that they might pass through. They galloped gallantly forward; but received a discharge so close, and thrown in with such steadiness, that their ranks became instantly confused. Nor was a moment afforded to recover from the surprise. Rupert, who commanded here in person, led forward his horse, charged, overthrew, and totally discomfited them; while they rushing back headlong upon

the line of foot, threw it also into confusion. In an instant the royalists took the lead; both horse and foot advanced, some penetrating down the lanes, others filing round; and in ten minutes the right of the republicans sustained as decided a defeat, as their left had just won a victory.

Operations such as these unavoidably brought about a complete change of front in both armies. According to the vulgar accounts of the battle, the two hosts changed ground; but this is manifestly an error: they merely faced round, the one side wheeling upon their centre to the left, the other making a similar evolution to the right. Unfortunately, however, the impetuosity of prince Rupert led him, as usual, too far in the pursuit; while Cromwell, not less cool than daring, held his men steadily in hand. Yet when the victors on both sides did meet, the meeting was stiff and stern. In the first shock Cromwell was wounded, and his men reeled and wavered. Had there been any adequate support at hand, even now the day might have been retrieved; but ere Rupert could recall or form the troops which he had permitted to scatter in the chase, a second and still fiercer onset was made. That attack was led by general Leslie, a Scottish officer of reputation and merit, and it proved eminently successful. Rupert's cavalry were fairly swept from their ground; while his infantry, at all times the least efficient of the royal forces, gave but a single fire, and fled in the utmost confusion. Never was rout more complete. The whole of the artillery, prodigious quantities of small arms, tents, baggage, and the military chest, all fell into the hands of the victors; who, besides killing upwards of 5000 men in the action and the pursuit, made 1500 prisoners. Nothing, indeed, except the vicinity of York, saved even a remnant of the royalists from destruction.

It is not worth while to give any detailed account of the dissensions and quarrels to which this great victory proved the prelude, among the leaders of both armies. Enough is done when we state, that Rupert and Newcastle, mutually blaming each other, withdrew, the one

to the continent, the other, with the wreck of his troops, southward; while the republicans, marching upon York, placed it again in a state of siege. The city opened its gates on the 15th; but neither that event, nor the subsequent fall of Newcastle, though the whole of the northern counties were reduced by them to the obedience of parliament, served to hinder the growth of bitter animosities in the victorious hosts. Cromwell, the avowed head of the independents, became an object of extreme aversion to the more moderate presbyterians, to whom, in common with the nobility at large, Manchester was attached; while Manchester and his friends were openly accused by the lieutenant-general of a disinclination to push the war to its just limits. Nor was it only by circulating such rumours that either faction strove to undermine the credit of its antagonists. The independents, on the one hand, assigned the entire merit of the recent victory to Cromwell and his cavalry; Crawford and Hollis, on the other, besides claiming it absolutely for themselves and the Scots, accused Oliver of personal cowardice. Thus, partly upon public, partly upon private grounds, was a breach created, which each successive operation, no matter how conducted, served not to heal, but to widen.

While these things were in progress, the parliament had equipped two strong armies in the south, which, under Essex and sir William Waller, moved in opposite directions for the purpose of shutting up the king in Oxford. Charles, apprised of their design, suddenly evacuated the city, and, after a series of well-executed manœuvres, engaged and defeated Waller at Copsedy Bridge. He turned next upon Essex, whom he followed from place to place, till he finally cooped him up in a corner of Cornwall, where, after some delay, the parliamentarians were reduced to the necessity of laying down their arms. It is not easy to account for the excessive lenity practised by the king on this occasion After an overture, which he deemed it judicious to make,

had been rejected by the earl, and the earl himself had escaped by sea,—after the enemy's cavalry had passed through an opening in the royal lines, and the infantry were left to their fate, the king consented to dismiss them; naked, indeed, but still free to serve again so soon as their masters should be in a condition to renew their efficiency. By the personal friends of Charles,—such as Warwick and Clarendon,—the king's behaviour in this instance is attributed to constitutional clemency: it is not, perhaps, going too far if we venture to assign the event to a mistaken and short-sighted policy.

It seems to have been the wish of Charles to move at once upon London, while as yet the moral effects of his victories were felt; nor, in the desperate state of his affairs, could he have devised a more prudent measure. But his army was composed of a class of men whom it was very difficult to persuade, and absolutely impracticable to control. The Cornish men refused to quit their own county; and the royalists both in Devonshire and Dorsetshire proved more prodigal of promises than of performances. His movements were constantly delayed for want both of provisions and means of transport; and a military chest absolutely empty brought with it the customary evils of pay long in arrear, and soldiers dissatisfied. Under these circumstances, his progress was exceedingly slow; and it was at last determined that no more should be attempted this campaign, than to bring relief to certain castles in Berkshire and the counties near, and then to establish the army for the winter in Oxford.

Meanwhile the parliament, so far from succumbing under these disasters, strained every nerve to repair them. They passed no vote of censure against Essex, whom, on the contrary, they treated with the utmost delicacy; but they made haste to re-equip his forces, as soon as their arrival at Portsmouth, and their steady adherence to the popular cause, were ascertained. This done, they instructed general Skipton, on whom, because of

the sickness of his superior, the command had devolved, to move towards Andover, where Waller, with the residue of his forces, was in position. Manchester and Cromwell were, in like manner, directed to march southward to the same point; and, finally, such a power was brought together, in respect both of numbers and composition, as had not yet formed under one leader since the commencement of the war. To the chief command of this magnificent army the earl of Manchester was nominated; Cromwell retained, as before, the rank of general of horse; and the whole, wound up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, advanced against the king.

The royalists occupied at this time a formidable alignment in and about the town of Newbury. Protected on one flank by the river Kennet, and in some degree covered by the guns of Dennington castle on the other, they strengthened their front by throwing up a breastwork, and by occupying in force several villas and gardens which extended conveniently beyond the town. There was one mansion in particular, called Doleman's house, which stood for them in the most convenient situation, being a little in advance of the breastwork and a row of lesser houses, yet exposed on all sides to a raking fire. This, as well as the garden, which they strengthened by thick embankments, was filled with troops; while all the hedges and ditches near swarmed with skirmishers, and every convenient mound was surmounted by one or more pieces of artillery. In one respect alone, and it was a very essential respect, their line was weak. A hill, less than musket-shot in their front, offered to an assailant every facility for the secure and undiscovered formation of columns of attack; and the result of the action proved, that against that solitary defect not all the advantages of which we have just spoken, availed. Nor was this all. The king had recently detached three regiments of his best horse for the purpose of relieving Banbury castle; and hence, when the day of battle came, he found himself more than usually overmatched in that his favourite and most efficient arm. For the open

meadows which extended between Dennington castle and the town were left grievously exposed; there was no efficient reserve with which to support the scattered infantry; and the means of checking patrolling parties, and obtaining intelligence, were in a grĉat measure taken away. But there was a fatality attending all the grand movements of that unhappy monarch, nor was its influence less banefully felt on the present occasion than it had been on others.

The two armies came in sight on the 25th of October, and the 26th was devoted by the republicans to the pushing of a reconnoissance: this the royalists endeavoured to interrupt by sending out clouds of musketeers to skirmish; while both parties kept up a smart cannonade, the parliamentarians from a battery which they had established on the summit of the hill, the cavaliers from the town and the works adjoining to it. For some time the firing produced little effect on either side; but towards evening the royalists transported a couple of guns across the river, which they so planted as to enfilade the enemy line as far as a bend in the eminence exposed it. A regiment of cavalry in particular, commanded by colonel Ludlow, suffered very severely, and was compelled in the end to shift its ground. On the following morning, however, a new scene opened upon the combatants of either party. The parliamentarians, having formed in two heavy columns, showed themselves a little before noon, one upon the space between Dennington and the town, the other in front of Doleman's house and the works to its right; while a tremendous cannonade along the whole line served to distract attention, and to leave doubtful where the blow would in reality fall. No great while elapsed, however, ere this apparent hesitation ceased. The column on the left, covered by a cloud of skirmishers, advanced at a brisk pace, while that on the right assumed such an attitude as to hinder a single company immediately opposed to it from quitting its ground.

The space between Dennington castle and the town of

Newbury was, without doubt, the weakest in the royal line; and the absence of those regiments of cavalry, of which we have already spoken, exposed it in a tenfold degree. The republicans had, moreover, posted there the most enthusiastic of their infantry; the men who, having recently laid down their arms in Cornwall, were resolved at all hazards to retrieve their character. Nothing, therefore, could resist the impetuosity of the assault; indeed, the cavaliers' line was in ten minutes fairly pierced, one portion retreating within the works at Dennington, the other falling back precipitately upon the town. The case was widely different about Doleman's house. There the parliamentarians, seeing the success of their comrades on the left, chose to hazard a desperate attack; and their opponents, having every advantage of position, as well as a full confidence in their leaders, met them nobly. It was to no purpose that they cleared the hedges and ditches, forcing their way up to the garden wall, and penetrating to the very lawn in front of the house; such a fire of musketry was poured upon them from the windows and embankments near, that no man who exposed himself survived to speak of it; and even the drakes or small cannon with which they endeavoured to batter the house, were soon silenced. They retreated, after a desperate contest of more than four hours' duration, leaving two pieces of artillery in the hands of the royalists, and escaped total annihilation only through the devoted heroism of Ludlow's horse, who sacrificed themselves by moving forward to cover the retrogression.

It was now night; and the irregular direction of the fires on both sides indicated how desperate must be the issue of the morrow's strife. On the part of the republicans the most sanguine expectations were formed; for though they had suffered seriously on the right, their left was completely successful. On the part of the royalists, again, the feeling universally prevailed, that their position being turned was no longer tenable. They accordingly busied themselves in conveying, by a circuitous route, their guns and heavy stores into Denning-

ton; while battalion after battalion began to quit its ground, and march silently in the direction of Oxford. It has been asserted, that Cromwell, not doubting as to the state in which affairs stood, repeatedly requested leave to execute a forward movement with his cavalry, but was peremptorily restrained by the general in chief. As Cromwell himself brought a charge to this effect against lord Manchester in the house of commons, there is probably some truth in the statement; but, however this may be, it is certain that the king was enabled to draw off, unmolested and in good order, the whole of his infantry and cavalry, and the lightest of his guns. At dawn, indeed, not less than 6000 horse followed him; but it was then too late. Not a shot was fired in the pursuit; and the royalists, though compelled to abandon their ground, were still enabled to boast that having suffered no loss either in *materiel* or prisoners, the battle ought to be regarded as drawn. Nor was this all. While dissensions raged so violently in the parliamentary camp that they would not so much as undertake the siege of Dennington, the king, having been joined by prince Rupert from the north with a corps of excellent horse, suddenly assumed the offensive, and, in the face of his late conquerors, drew all his guns and wagons from the castle, with which he marched unmolested to Oxford. So ended the campaign of 1644; for the king establishing himself for the winter in that city, the republicans went into cantonments in and around Reading.

It were foreign to the design of a memoir which professes to detail only the military career of Cromwell, were we to devote much space to the elucidation of transactions affecting religion and general politics rather than the progress of the war. We content ourselves, therefore, with stating, that during the summer of 1644 the celebrated assembly of divines had met, and that, but for the prompt and timely interference of Oliver, they would have passed laws absolutely destructive of his long-cherished designs and wishes. In like manner,

the manifest disinclination of the nobles to push the king to an extremity, threatened to overthrow all his projects, and to block up the road to further advancement against him. Cromwell was not remiss in endeavouring to counterwork those whom, with great truth, he regarded as his natural enemies. By the exercise of extraordinary finesse, he brought forward and successfully carried through the Self-denying Ordinance,—a measure which deprived of military authority every individual belonging to the peerage, by declaring it inexpedient for any member of the great council to absent himself, under any pretext whatever, from his duties in parliament. The principle of the bill was not, indeed, admitted till after much bitter recrimination had passed between Cromwell and his late commander, the earl of Manchester; during the progress of which they mutually accused one another of disaffection to the great cause, and even of backwardness in the hour of danger; but it received, at length, the sanction of both houses, and the men of greatest experience hitherto employed under the parliament, the earls of Essex, Manchester, and Denbeigh, laid down, in consequence, their commissions.

The self-denying ordinance passed into a law on the 3d of April, 1645; and a fresh bill, for remodelling the army, was immediately introduced into the house of commons. By this, which went through parliament without a struggle, separate and independent commands were abrogated, and all the detached *corps d'armée* being joined into one, the whole was placed under the general guidance of sir Thomas Fairfax. It is a fact, peculiarly illustrative of the spirit which actuated Cromwell in these proceedings, that while the office of major-general was awarded to general Skipton, and every other and minor appointment filled up, that of lieutenant-general, or second in command, remained vacant. Of the causes in which so remarkable an omission originated, we might indeed be led to doubt, were we not in possession of the strongest proofs that at least it did not proceed from negligence. On the contrary, as we find Cromwell's regiment

in open mutiny, because their beloved leader was about to be removed from them; as we discover a similar spirit arising in other corps, when Cromwell, on the pretext of bidding farewell to his old companions, repaired to Windsor, where Fairfax had fixed his head-quarters; as we find the same Cromwell, by an especial vote of the house, requested to resume his military functions, at first for a brief space, at last permanently; it is impossible to doubt that the office was all along reserved, in order that he, at the fitting season, might obtain it. The truth, indeed, seems to be, that, placed in a situation of the most imminent peril,—beset on the one hand by the presbyterians, by the nobles and half-royalists on the other, and scarcely supported as he expected to be by his professed friends, the independents,—Cromwell had no choice left, except to risk all upon the issue of a single cast. He threw, and the dice turned up in his favour; for his adherents, fortified in their zeal by the success of one step, went on boldly to take others, till they succeeded in violating, in favour of their own leader, the very law of which he had been the author and main promoter.

It was not, however, by the mere distribution of commands and the exclusion from places of trust of all whom he suspected, that Cromwell contrived to secure the army absolutely to his own interests. With consummate art he caused whole brigades to be disbanded, on which, above all others, the moderate party could rely, while at the same moment he incorporated with his favourite regiments every individual belonging to those brigades noted for his bold, reckless, and extravagant enthusiasm. "Never," says a late writer*, "was a more singular army assembled than that which was now set on foot by the parliament. To the greater number of the regiments chaplains were not appointed, as the officers were, in general, qualified to assume the spiritual duties, and to unite them with their military functions. During the intervals of active service, they employed themselves in sermons, prayers, and exhortations; yielding their minds,

* Dr Russell, in his Life of Oliver Cromwell.

in these pursuits, to the same emulation which inspired their courage in the day of battle. Enthusiasm supplied the place of study and reflection; and while they poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they mistook that eloquence, which, to their own surprise as well as to that of others, flowed in upon them, for Divine illuminations conveyed by the agency of the Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the minister from his pulpit, and, usurping his place, conveyed their sentiments to the audience with all the authority which followed their power, their valour, and their military exploits. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their leisure hours in prayer, in reading the Bible, or in spiritual conferences, when they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and sti mulated one another to further advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle, the field resounded as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion, as with the instruments of martial music; and every man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger in the prospect of that state of never-ending peace and security which was placed before him. In so holy a cause wounds were esteemed meritorious, and death a pious martyrdom; while, amidst the perils of the charge, and the confusion of the conflict, their minds were supported by the delightful assurance that the sword of an enemy would only relieve them from the duties of this world, to send them to the full enjoyment of the next."

Strongly contrasted with all this, in every point both of physical service and moral discipline, was the condition of the royal forces. Though still master of one third part of England, his sway directly extending from Oxford to the extremity of Cornwall,—though North and South Wales, with the exception of the castles of Pembroke and Montgomery, both acknowledged his authority, and the royal standard still floated over several towns in the midland counties,—Charles could not but perceive that the chances of another campaign were

fearfully against him. While the parliamentarians maintained a concentrated position with upwards of 20,000 of the best troops in the world, his army, under the nominal command of the prince of Wales, though in reality under that of Rupert, was frittered away in a multitude of petty garrisons, and languished in a state of the most alarming insubordination. The leaders, broken up into factions, presumed to disobey the royal orders, and refused to serve under an adversary or a rival; the inferior officers indulged in every kind of debauchery; the privates lived at free quarters; and the whole made themselves more terrible to their friends by their licentiousness, than to their enemies by their valour. To such an extent, indeed, were their excesses carried, that the inhabitants of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Somerset, and Worcester, entered into associations, which, under the denomination of club-men, assumed an attitude of neutrality, by acting indiscriminately against all armed bands, in defence of private property, or punishment of outrages.

These associations, at first composed entirely of the lower orders, soon received the countenance and support of the gentry. They were supplied with arms, encouraged to unite in bodies, mustering not less than 6000 strong, and began gradually to invite other counties to a union, for the purpose of putting an end, by force, to the unnatural war which had so long devastated the country. Now, though not directly opposed to their sovereign,—though, on the contrary, objects of extreme jealousy to the parliament,—these clubs so far weakened the royal cause, that they withheld from joining it many persons who might have otherwise done so, at the same time that they unscrupulously cut to pieces all marauders, without pausing to enquire under whose banner they served. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, if the king should have gladly renewed a negotiation for peace, yielding now many points on which he had hitherto been obstinate; or that, finding his commissioners return from Uxbridge with a declaration that all concession was

useless, he should have experienced the deepest sorrow. Nevertheless, Charles was a brave as well as a good man. In the vices which contaminated his followers he took no delight; and hence rejoicing that the guilt of innocent blood lay, as in the case of Laud, exclusively with his enemies, he prepared to trust all to Providence, which might even yet uphold the right.

The negotiation, of the result of which we have alone thought it necessary to give an account, came to a close on the 23d of February, 1669; and military operations, though at first on a small scale, immediately recommenced. Taunton was closely besieged by a royalist detachment under sir Richard Greenwood; attempts were made to collect an army in Somersetshire, and to stir up the adherents of the cause in Kent and Sussex; while on Wales repeated requisitions were made both for men and money. In the meanwhile the parliamentarians were not idle. Fairfax, assuming the command of the forces, proceeded to carry into execution the new plans drawn up for his guidance, while Cromwell, on whom the self-denying ordinance was not yet permitted to operate, performed several exploits not unworthy of his established reputation. On the 9th of April, for example, information having reached head-quarters, that a strong corps of cavalry was on its march from the west for the purpose of joining the king at Oxford, Cromwell put himself at the head of a few chosen squadrons, and coming suddenly upon the royalists at Islop-bridge, attacked and defeated them with great slaughter. Many prisoners were taken in the action, and a standard which the queen had recently presented to her own regiment, fell into the hands of the victors.

Cromwell turned next upon Blessingdon-house, a place of arms not far distant, which was at this time held by the royalist colonel (Wrudebank), whom, by false representations of his strength, he induced to surrender; and he surprised soon afterwards and cut to pieces a detachment of infantry under the orders of sir William Vaughan. But success did not attend all his operations

during this excursion. Having quitted his command in order to consult with Fairfax, Goring, who had been summoned from Bristol, was enabled to execute a sudden movement against his troops, during which he attacked them while crossing the Isis, near Woodstock, and routed and dispersed them with some slaughter and extreme confusion. The joy of the cavaliers at this success was very great; but its effects were not more enduring than those of a gleam of sunshine amidst a storm.

Up to the present moment, the plans of the campaign on both sides seem to have been vague and uncertain. It was the great wish of the parliament to block up the king in Oxford, so as by one decisive blow to end the war; it was the object of the king not only to avoid this hazard, but, moving into the north, to relieve Chester, and to defeat the Scots ere the re-organisation of the republican regiments should be completed. On the other hand, Fairfax was exceedingly desirous to succour Taunton, a place of great importance, as commanding the communication with Devonshire; and he so far followed the bent of his own inclinations as to commence his march in that direction. But Cromwell, who in this emergency was left to observe the king, found himself incapable of checking any movement which his adversary might make in force. Charles, therefore, leaving a competent garrison in Oxford, took the road to Chester, at the head of his army; while Fairfax, apprehensive of the issue, hurried back from Salisbury, and sat down before the place. It was to no purpose, however, that he made daily a demonstration of his force. Disappointed in a hope which he had been led to encourage, that the gates would by treachery be opened to him, he still felt, or fancied himself, too weak to try the fate of an assault, and he accordingly hesitated between his own wishes and those of his government, till the opportunity of acting with effect had wellnigh escaped him.

It was now the 6th of June, and the parliament alarmed by the successes of the king, sent positive or-

ders for Fairfax to pursue. On the following morning the general began his march; but he did so under a persuasion that he was not acting for the best, while the circumstance of Cromwell's withdrawal from the army, in obedience to the tenour of the self-denying ordinance, preyed heavily upon a mind not previously accustomed to depend for support on its own resources. Fairfax wrote a long letter to the speaker, in which he set forth the high value of his lieutenant's services, and the absolute confidence reposed in him by the troops; and he summed up all by entreating that the ordinance might be suspended, at least till the critical juncture at which affairs had arrived should pass away. To his extreme delight he received an answer by express, in which it was stated, that the house of commons had required general Cromwell to continue with the army during a space of three months. Not a moment was lost in transmitting the despatch to Cromwell, who, being already prepared to expect such a communication, instantly resumed functions which he had scarcely laid aside. He drew together about 6000 chosen horse, marched by long journeys after the column, and came up with it on the evening of the 13th of June, at Northampton, where it lay within six miles of the royalists.

While the leaders of the parliamentary forces were executing these movements, the king, undecided whether to follow up his original plan by pushing against the Scots, or to return upon his steps for the relief of Oxford, spent his time very unprofitably. Had he merely halted at Leicester, no great harm would have ensued, because numerous reinforcements were advancing upon that town, the junction of which would have rendered him equal to any emergency. But, after permitting a portion of his army to move in one direction, he suddenly changed his mind, and with the remainder took the road to Oxford. At Harborough the intelligence came in, that the blockade of Oxford had been raised; and it was urged by some of the royal officers,

that now, at least, the original scheme ought to be followed up. Unfortunately, however, there accompanied this report numerous and exaggerated rumours relative to the repulse which the rebels had sustained at Borstall-house, and the disorganised condition of their troops; the effect of which was to stir up an excessive impatience among the cavaliers to overtake and destroy their enemies. The consequence was, that the southern route was again taken; and on the 9th of June the army reached Daventry, where for the second time it most unaccountably halted.

It is impossible to explain, on any grounds of reason, the wavering and unwise policy which dictated all the proceedings of the royalists during this campaign. After removing just so far from the base of his own operations, as to render it extremely difficult for his supplies to overtake him, in case of any sudden need, the king stopped short, at a point where he could neither command any accurate information relative to his enemies, nor check nor overawe their movements in any direction. Here, too, as if there had been no danger threatening, he indulged in the idle recreation of hunting; while his officers and soldiers, following their ordinary practice, spread havoc over the face of the neighbouring country. It was like the sudden bursting of a thunder-cloud, when information arrived on the 12th that the rebels were in full march towards him, and that they were approaching Northampton, with an overwhelming force both of infantry and cavalry. Orders were immediately issued for a retreat. The retrogression began at midnight, and by an early hour on the following morning the van of the army re-entered Harborough. Here the whole column closing up was compelled to halt, in consequence of repeated attempts made by the enemy's horse to harass their rear; and here also certain information being obtained that Fairfax was not more than six miles distant, new plans were proposed, and new devices adopted.

We have alluded to the arrival of Cromwell at Fair-

fax's head-quarters on the evening of the 13th. His first measure was to urge the propriety of sending on a strong reconnoissance, for the purpose of ascertaining both the position and intentions of the royalists; and the command of the force thus employed being committed to Ireton, it performed its duty with the best effect. Not long after dark, Ireton charged the king's outposts, drove them in, and made some prisoners, from whom the most exact information relative to the numbers and disposition of the cavaliers was obtained. It was determined, in consequence, to bring on, if possible, a decisive action on the morrow; and to this end were all the exertions of the chiefs forthwith directed. About an hour before dawn, on the morning of the 14th, the whole army formed, and began its march in profound silence, and in the best possible order.

The parliamentarians had proceeded as far as Naseby, a village about ten miles north of Northampton, when a corps of cavalry, bearing the standards of the king, were observed advancing. Satisfied that Charles had doubled back upon his pursuers, and was determined to give and not to receive the battle, Cromwell recommended that advantage should be taken of the strong ground on which they then stood; and that the line should be formed at once, so that the troops might be fresh and steady when the critical moment came. Fairfax adopted without hesitation the suggestions of his lieutenant. He drew up along the ridge of a gentle eminence, with his infantry in the centre, and his cavalry on either flank; and giving the command of the right to Cromwell, and of the left to Ireton, he reserved the centre for himself. His artillery, of which he had some twenty pieces in the field, was judiciously arranged, so as to command every avenue of approach; and the men, having sung a psalm, sat down composedly and in rank, with their arms in their hands.

Meanwhile Charles, who had also selected a favourable position, just in front of Harborough, was persuaded by prince Rupert to quit his vantage-ground, under the

idea that the enemy were retreating, and that one fierce attack would utterly disperse them. His infantry did not exceed 3500 men; and his cavalry, divided into two brigades, of which Rupert led the one, and sir Marmaduke Langdale the other, amounted barely to 3600. With this feeble array he was drawn on to the attack of full 12,000 men, most of them inured to danger and accustomed to victory, and all imbued with the wildest enthusiasm, civil as well as religious. Nor was the order in which he began the battle more to be commended, than the precipitancy with which he cast away the great advantage of fighting on ground of his own choice. Rupert, no ways sobered down by his reverse at Marston Moor, led the flower of the royal cavalry, amounting to 2000 men, with slackened reins, and spurs plunged in the horses' flanks, against Ireton's division. As a matter of course, he overthrew and swept it from its ground; and, equally as a matter of course, he permitted his troops to disperse in reckless pursuit, and to waste their own vigour, as well as that of their horses, in the destruction of fugitives. Six pieces of cannon fell into his hands; and Ireton himself, having vainly endeavoured to break a close column of royalist pikemen, was wounded in the face and taken. On the other flank, however, a widely different issue befell. There Langdale, following the example of the prince, likewise endeavoured to charge, in despite of the disadvantage of a hill, and a heavy fire of cannon; but he was met so resolutely by Cromwell and his Ironsides, that he recoiled from the shock. At this moment Cromwell, who had held two squadrons in hand, wheeled them suddenly round upon Langdale's left. These fell on furiously; and taking men at a disadvantage, who had already been overmatched in front, they totally routed them. Nevertheless Cromwell was far from chasing, as Rupert did, with his whole array. He sent three out of seven squadrons to hinder the cavalry from rallying, and with the remaining four rode furiously upon the king's infantry, now warmly engaged in the centre with that of Fairfax. Not for one instant could

they abide this fresh attack. They wavered, gave way, and were penetrated through and through; multitudes being cut down on the spot, and multitudes more casting away their weapons, and calling for quarter. It was to no purpose that Charles put himself at the head of his body-guard, a chosen regiment of 300 horse, and cheered them on to the rescue. He himself, accompanied by a few attendants, dashed forward, and getting intermingled with Cromwell's men, had well nigh been taken prisoner; but a panic seized his guard, and instead of following and supporting their royal master, they galloped precipitately from the field. Then it was that the earl of Carnwarth seized the king's reins, turned his horse suddenly round, and carried him forcibly to the rear; and there, too, the whole both of the centre and left, seeing the transaction, fled in the utmost confusion.

While these things were going on, Rupert, after satiating his thirst of pursuit, rallied his men, and returned slowly to the ground which he ought never to have quitted. He found it entirely occupied by the rebels, and the sound of firing far in the rear advertised him how affairs had gone. He strove to restore the battle by offering to lead his men to the charge, and by pointing out where such a movement could be made to the best advantage; but the cavaliers, though furious in the onset, were peculiarly liable to be checked, and could never be persuaded to risk a second attack, even when a first had succeeded. On the present occasion, so far from riding among the republicans, disordered in a great degree by the rapidity of the advance, they endeavoured to steal away by the flank, and fought only when observed and pursued, as they soon were with the utmost impetuosity. At first they defended themselves gallantly. Repeated shocks were given and received, and many a horse ran riderless over the plain; but ere long their calmer courage failed them, and they shunned, or languidly met, every new encounter. At last all order was laid aside. Men clapped spurs to their horses and fled in every direction, leaving baggage, *matériel*, and

cannon to their fate, till the confusion became irretrievable, and the rout complete. There fell of the royalists, in the battle and pursuit, eight hundred men; nearly four thousand were made prisoners; and five thousand stand of arms, upwards of one hundred pairs of colours, the royal standard, the king's cabinet of letters, his coaches, and the whole spoil of the camp, became the prey of the victors.

This great and decisive victory was no sooner secured, than Cromwell, regardless of the respect due to his general, hastened to communicate officially to the speaker of the house of commons, how "the good hand of God" had wrought for them. The proceeding was in all respects agreeable to the crafty and designing character of the man; and it did not fail, as he had anticipated that it would not, to make its own impression. But Cromwell was not less active in improving his advantages in the field, than in turning them to account elsewhere. Having witnessed the capture of Leicester and the relief of Taunton, he advanced at the head of a chosen corps to meet Goring, of whose approach he had been advertised; and attacking him unexpectedly, first drove him back to Bridgewàter, and then cut his army to pieces. He then hurried back to Bristol, prevailed upon Fairfax to attempt its reduction by assault, and had the gratification to see it surrendered with all its magazines and stores. In like manner the fortress of Devizes, Berkley Castle, and the city of Winchester, were each in succession taken,—the two former by storm, the latter by capitulation. At the surrender of this place an event befell not undeserving of notice, because highly characteristic of the sound discretion, if not of the strict military honour, which belonged to Cromwell.

It was stipulated as one of the conditions on which Winchester consented to open its gates, that all plundering and marauding should be prevented. Six of Cromwell's men, in defiance of his orders to the contrary, committed some excesses, and being taken in the act, were brought before the general. He caused the cri-

minals to cast lots in order to determine which should suffer as an example, and the man on whom the lot fell he instantly hanged on the spot. The remaining five were sent to Oxford under a flag of truce, with an explicit statement of their crimes, and a desire on the part of the republican general that the royalists would deal with them as they saw meet. As might have been anticipated, no other use was made of this sanction than to send back the men, accompanied by a handsome acknowledgment of the honourable conduct of Cromwell. By these means both the lives of the culprits were saved, and the reputation of the general raised as well in the ranks of his enemies as among his friends.

Following up his successes, to which, indeed, there was no longer a field force capable of offering any interruption, Cromwell reduced Basing-house and Longford-house, both of them castellated mansions; and made a prisoner, in the former, of its proprietor, the marquess of Winchester. He then pushed into Devonshire, where, at Bovey Tracey, he dispersed a corps under the command of lord Wentworth, with the loss of 500 prisoners. His next movement was to rejoin Fairfax, with whom he co-operated in the various operations which led to the redûction of Dartmouth, the defeat of lord Hopton at Torrington, and the general subjugation of the west. At last, after the siege of Exeter had been formed, and lord Hopton, with the wreck of the royalist army, was taken, Cromwell withdrew from the field, and, hastening back to London, made ready to use for his own purposes the extraordinary favour with which he was there received by all classes.

We shall not pause to describe the nature of the reception with which Cromwell was welcomed back to his place in the house of commons. Let it suffice to state, that, in addition to a grant of 2500*l.* a year, to be paid to him and his children for ever, out of the lands lately belonging to the marquess of Winchester, it was ordered that the lieutenant-general be recommended as a fit person to receive the honour of the peerage; and that

the king be requested to create him a baron, with a right of succession to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten. This was, indeed, a strange decree for an assembly to pass which bore arms against the very sovereign whom they still treated as the fountain of honour; and it fell, as indeed it could not but fall, absolutely to the ground. Nevertheless, it stands on record a veritable witness of the respect in which Cromwell was then held by all parties; more especially by that which, within a brief space afterwards, was doomed to suffer total annihilation at his hands.

The winter of 1645–6 was spent by Cromwell in struggling against the presbyterian faction, who, though at first they received him with open arms, were not slow in seeing into his designs and seeking to counteract them. These, not less than the nobility, were averse to push the war beyond the limits necessary for restraining the royal prerogative, and abolishing episcopacy; whereas Cromwell and the independents dreaded nothing so much as a reconciliation, no matter at what expense purchased, between the king and the parliament. They accordingly laboured by every possible means to cast impediments in the way even of a negotiation. It is not our province to describe the measures adopted by either party, in order to obtain an ascendency over its rivals both in parliament and with the nation. Enough is done when we state, that, though the majority of the people were so decidedly disposed to peace that they would have accepted it on the terms proposed by the king, the army, almost to a man, supported Cromwell; and the power of the sword was found, as in the end it always is and always must be, to overbalance that of reason and justice.

The spring of 1656 brought with it the most gloomy prospects, both to Charles and his adherents. Frustrated in a desperate effort to join his partisans in Scotland, and deprived one by one of all the forts and castles which he held in the southern and western counties, the unfortunate monarch at last shut himself up in

Oxford; where he was narrowly watched and straitened in all his proceedings by a flying corps, under the command of colonel Rainsburgh. Meanwhile the Scots, having defeated the gallant Montrose at Philip-Haugh, marched into the centre of England, and, over-running the counties of York and Lincoln, sat down before Newark. Of this place, which was well provided, they pressed the attack with extraordinary vigour; while Fairfax, after completing the conquest of Cornwall, approached with rapid strides for the purpose of laying close siege to Oxford. It was a moment of tremendous peril to the king, and of deep and awful excitation both to Cromwell and his rivals. With respect to Charles, now that every prospect of successful resistance had disappeared, he saw that to fall by violence into the hands of the rebels must lead to his own inevitable destruction. He strove, therefore, once more to open a negotiation with the parliament; proposing no specific basis on which to treat, but desiring only that a safe-conduct would be afforded him, and that he might be permitted to hold, with the heads of the opposite party, a personal conference in Westminster. Had this most equitable request been granted, there is good ground for believing that even yet the monarchy might have been preserved. A strong re-action had already taken place in popular feeling; of the citizens of London, not a few began to perceive that, in crushing the royal authority, they had merely transferred their necks from one yoke to another; and hence a numerous and influential party were prepared to place the king once more upon a throne, of which the powers would, indeed, be restricted within very narrow limits. But by Cromwell and his faction such a measure was naturally regarded as utterly destructive of all their designs. They, therefore, employed every artifice of misrepresentation and double-dealing, for the purpose of hindering the king's proposal from being entertained; and they were again, to the sorrow of all sober-minded Englishmen, perfectly successful.

Thwarted in this endeavour, and cajoled by the treach-

erous recommendation of Montreuil, the French minister, Charles now resolved upon a step, from which, when once taken, he could not but perceive that there was no possibility of receding. Relying partly upon the hold which he believed himself still to have on the affections of his native subjects, partly upon their avowed disposition to restore him so soon as he should have subscribed their solemn league and covenant, he determined to throw himself into the arms of the Scots; and the guards being loosely kept by the troops round Oxford, he was enabled with slight peril to effect his purpose. On the 5th of May he arrived in disguise at the head-quarters of the army before Newark, attended only by a Mr. Ashburnham and another humble friend, Dr. Hudson. It is a remarkable fact, that against this movement on the part of the king, though its object was well known in London at least a week prior to its execution, no extraordinary measures were taken. On the contrary, Rainsburgh, a creature of Cromwell, became remiss at a juncture when, above all others, the parliament required vigilance to be exerted; and Charles passed through his lines, if not unobserved, at least unchallenged. How far the escape of the royal captive might or not be acceptable to Cromwell, the reader is left to judge for himself; nor, we apprehend, will he be at any loss in determining the point, provided he take a broad view of the designs and operations of that wily and deep-reasoning individual.

It belongs not to the military biographer of Oliver Cromwell to attempt any relation of the many and complicated intrigues which ensued upon the adoption of this fatal step by the king. No student of history can have forgotten, that, at the mandate of the sovereign, Newark opened its gates; and that, Oxford likewise submitting, Fairfax was enabled to lead back his army in triumph to London. As little need we remind the reader of the controversy which immediately began, between the English parliament and the Scottish army, relative to [illegible] of the king's person. The former, arguing [illegible] as the Scots were mere auxiliaries, they had no

right to keep back from the principal, whose cause they had espoused, any trophy won in the strife, required that Charles should be given up to them; while the latter, asserting their absolute independence, appeared for a time well disposed to treat the will of the English with contempt: but a vote that the English army should be kept up during six months longer, accompanied by a northerly movement of some of Fairfax's divisions, greatly shook the obstinacy of Leslie; and the immediate donation of 100,000*l.*, with a promise of 300,000*l.* more, overcame it altogether. Thus was the king basely given up into the hands of his enemy, by whom he was conducted, under a strong guard, to Holdenby-house; while the Scots withdrew into their own country, covered with the deepest disgrace.

The surrender of Charles, though it put an end at once to the grand struggle between the two principles of royalty and democracy, was far from establishing concord either throughout the nation at large, or among the several parties in the two houses of parliament. New questions came promptly before the latter, relating to the future civil and religious government of the realm; and new prejudices were stirred up, which operated with increased force, in proportion as men daily felt that the original ground on which they first took arms had been long abandoned. There were at this time not fewer than four distinct factions within the house of commons alone; namely, the presbyterians, the independents, the lawyers, and the men of no religion at all. Of these, by far the most powerful in point of numbers were the presbyterians; but, while the independents surpassed them greatly in talent, they were viewed with peculiar distrust by the other two; and hence, in all leading points, they found themselves overwhelmed by a union of interests. Nevertheless they made many a desperate effort to keep the power in their own hands; first by striving to win over the king to their views, and next by the establishment of a republic, and the reduction of the army: but in all they were baffled in some degree by

the honourable firmness of the monarch, who would not accept the crown at the expense of the suppression of episcopacy; though much more decidedly by the skill, hardihood, and unblushing dissimulation of their great adversary Cromwell.

Of the measures adopted by Cromwell to hinder the reduction of the army, and the necessary result of such a measure,—his own impeachment,— our limits will not permit us to speak, except briefly. By means of various confidential agents, among whom Ireton, his son-in-law, was conspicuous, he excited in the minds of the soldiers so great a jealousy of parliament, that they positively refused to obey any edict which came from that body; and electing from among their own members delegates or adjutators, they asserted their right, as the champions of public freedom, to take part in the deliberations of government. A long list of grievances was in consequence sent in, all of which they required to be redressed; and, the better to enforce a compliance with their wishes, they compelled Fairfax to lead them towards the metropolis. Never was hypocrisy more palpable than that exercised by Cromwell during the progress of these events. In his place in the house he sometimes inveighed against the conduct of the troops, declaring that his own life was not safe from their violence; at other times he offered himself as a pledge of their loyalty and good faith, provided only the arrears due to them were paid up, and the abuses of which they complained corrected: yet he ceased not, all the while, to exercise over their deliberations and movements an irresistible influence, of which they were themselves quite unconscious. We should record the fact as extraordinary, did we not see similar occurrences every day—that, though there was not a man in the opposite party so short-sighted as to be deceived by these declarations, they all, with scarcely a solitary exception, affected to be so. They consented that not a trooper belonging to Fairfax's corps should be dismissed; and they disbanded others, on whose services, had they dared to

appeal to force, they might have fully relied. Thus was one great engine brought into play by this most crafty politician; it remained to employ another scarcely less influential.

We have alluded to the efforts made by the presbyterians to obtain the countenance of the king, and the steady adherence of Charles to the religious principles in which he had been educated. In proportion as they found themselves deserted by the army, the leaders of that faction became more and more importunate with the monarch; till Cromwell and his adherents found it necessary, in self-defence, to adopt a similar line of conduct. The first step on the part of the lieutenant-general was to secure Oxford, then a strongly fortified city, and well supplied with military stores; his next to seize the king's person, and to bring him, under a slight escort, to Hampton Court. Here Charles was treated, for a while, with the utmost deference and respect: not only was he permitted to hold intercourse with his son, and other members of his family, but all the forms of royalty were maintained about his person; and both Cromwell and Ireton affected to enter with the utmost zeal into his schemes and wishes. Finally, it was proposed that, on certain conditions, involving the sacrifice of some of his most devoted friends, the temporary resignation of many prerogatives, and the total abolition of others, Charles should be restored to the throne; with a distinct understanding that episcopacy, though not established, should be tolerated, and all men left free to follow the dictates of their own consciences in matters of religion.* Unfortunately for the king, he was deceived into a belief that it rested with him to give the preponderance to either of the rival factions; and, almost equally disliking the principles of both, he ventured to hold both in suspense till the critical moment, if such there ever was, had passed away. Nor is this all. During the tardy progress of the negotiation a new faction sprang up, both in the

* Cromwell was to be created earl of Essex; and Ireton and his son promoted to offices of the highest trust.

army and the nation, bitterly and furiously hostile to all dignities; while Charles, as if labouring under the curse of judicial blindness, deliberately laid himself open to the charge of gross and incurable duplicity. The queen, hearing of the state in which matters rested, had written to express her hopes that no terms would ever be granted to murderers and rebels. It was perilous enough to receive such a letter, circumstanced as the king was, — it was the conduct of an infatuated person to reply to it, except in general, if not in condemnatory, terms, — yet Charles committed the egregious folly to assure her majesty that she might trust to him the task of rewarding his new friends according to their deserts. The following account of the means by which this rash insinuation became known to those most deeply interested we extract from the memoirs of lord Broghil; who gives the statement, as his biographer affirms, in the words of the protector himself.

"The reason of an inclination to come to terms with him" (the king), said Cromwell, "was, we found the Scots and presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were strenuously endeavouring to strike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reasonable conditions. But while we were busied with these thoughts there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bedchamber, acquainting us that our final doom was decreed that day: what it was he could not tell, but a letter was gone to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle; and the bearer of it would come with the saddle on his head, about ten o'clock the following night, to the Blue Boar inn in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some one in Dover did. We were then in Windsor; and, immediately on the receipt of the letter from our spy, Ireton and I resolved to take a trusty fellow with us, and, in troopers' habits, to go to the inn; which accordingly we did and set our man

at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was shut, but the wicket was open, and our man stood to give us notice when any one came with a saddle on his head. Ireton and I sat in a box near the wicket, and called for a can of beer, and then another, drinking in that disguise till ten o'clock, when our sentinel gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come; upon which we immediately rose; and when the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with our swords drawn, and told him that we were to search all that went in and out there; but that, as he looked like an honest fellow, we would only search his saddle—which we did, and found the letter we looked for. On opening it we read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen that he was now courted by both the factions—the Scots, the presbyterians, and the army; that which of them bid fairest for him should have him; that he thought he could close sooner with the Scots than with the other. Upon which we speeded to Windsor; and, finding we were not like to have any tolerable terms with the king, we resolved to ruin him."

That this story is strictly true, we see no reason to doubt; and that the transaction produced its effect in determining the future conduct of Cromwell, seems in the highest degree probable. But, however this may be, we know that the flight of Charles to the Isle of Wight took place not long after; and we are assured, on the best authority, that the unfortunate movement was made in consequence of a letter from the lieutenant-general, disclosing a design on the part of the levellers to assassinate his majesty. Nor can it less admit of a question, that the determination to put the king to death was first entered into at Hampton Court, immediately on the return of the two actors in the by-play, from the Blue Boar. Thus, then, may the fate of the unhappy monarch be attributed, at least in part, to his own excessive imprudence; and to the idea produced by it among all classes of his enemies, that he was incapable of keeping with them any terms.

In the meanwhile the disaffection among the troops, of which we have already spoken, assumed an aspect so serious, as to threaten the most terrible consequences. Two regiments in particular appeared one morning upon parade with labels affixed to their hats, on which were inscribed the words "The people's freedom and the soldiers' right;" nor could all the exertions of their officers prevail upon the men to lay aside the obnoxious badge. It is in such situations that the dauntless confidence springing from a sense of natural superiority avails more, perhaps, than all the meretricious advantages of rank or station. Cromwell no sooner heard of the proceeding, than, accompanied by Fairfax, he hurried to the camp. One of the battalions, being persuaded to return to its duty, was dismissed with a reprimand; into the ranks of the other the lieutenant-general promptly rushed, and seized with his own hand the most active among the mutineers. A court martial was instantly convened; the man was tried, and found guilty; and, in the presence of his comrades, he was shot to death upon the spot. It was a bold, but a completely successful measure; for the corps at once submitted; and, for the present at least, all apprehensions of revolt ceased to be felt.

Some time prior to the occurrences just described, Cromwell had fully established the superiority of the sword over the gown. So early, indeed, as the month of August, when the parliament seemed disposed to push matters to an extremity, he had marched a portion of his victorious army into Westminster, where he not only restored to their places lord Manchester, and Mr. Lenthal, speaker of the house of commons, but drove from the latter assembly every member of whose principles or determination he had cause to be afraid. He now used his influence so unblushingly for the furtherance of his own projects, and the utter ruin of the king, that the nation, which had long begun to regard their sovereign with feelings of compassion, became violently agitated. The apprentices of London ran to arms, and fought more

than one skirmish with the regular troops. Kent rose *en masse*, under Hales and Goring; and Wales and the northern counties took up arms,—a measure in which they were promptly followed by Scotland. Nothing intimidated by these movements, Cromwell directed Skipton against the men of Kent; and, leaving Fairfax to hold the metropolitan counties in check, marched himself into Wales. The raw levies he soon drove from the field; and, though repulsed in an endeavour to carry Pembroke by assault, he besieged and at the end of six weeks reduced it. He then moved by forced marches into Lancashire, where, not far from Preston, he came up with the advance of the Scottish army; and, attacking it unexpectedly, he brought on a general action, which ended in the total overthrow of the invaders. The truth, indeed, is, that never was expedition conducted with so little skill or prudence, as that which received its first and final check on the present occasion. With the exception of sir Marmaduke Langdale, there was scarcely an officer of experience in the army; the men were ill armed, worse paid, and destitute of discipline; while there prevailed in the camp a degree of disunion and party spirit, which would have paralysed the operations of the greatest military genius.*

Following up his successes with characteristic rapidity, Cromwell passed the border, and advanced, without encountering any serious opposition, as far as Edinburgh. Here he halted; and being well received by the presbyterian party, particularly by Leven and David Leslie, he found little difficulty in establishing what he was pleased to term order throughout. This done, and a corps of select cavalry appointed to keep in check the malignants, Cromwell turned his face towards London, where, during his absence, parliament had again ventured to act independently, by renewing a friendly negotiation with the king. To that an immediate stop was put, so soon as the troops arrived in the vicinity of

* It is stated by Noble, that one of Cromwell's sons, Henry, a captain in Harrison's regiment of horse, fell in this action.

the capital. Finding that the commons persisted in passing bills at variance with his own projects, and those of his friends, Cromwell marched two regiments of horse into Westminster, who seized and imprisoned the leaders of the opposite party, imposed upon the remainder the necessity of silence; and so commanded in the most absolute degree the future deliberations of the whole body. The chief actor in this extraordinary scene was colonel Pride, a confidential and personal friend of the general; and the whole transaction has since received the familiar denomination of "Pride's Purge."

It were out of character, in a work like the present, to attempt any account, however brief, of the series of remarkable events which led to the seizure, the trial, and execution of the king. As little can we pretend to describe the part, or rather the multiplicity of parts, which Cromwell acted during the progress of that great tragedy. This portion of his biography belongs not to our province; we therefore pass it by, though not without reluctance and regret: but we cannot refuse to state, that his conduct throughout was marked by the deepest dissimulation, by hardihood the most reckless, and an extraordinary mixture of profound calculation and extravagant levity. We find him, for example, on one occasion, ere yet the king had been put upon his trial, engaged in deliberation with the grandees, as they were called, of the house and the army, touching the form of government henceforth to be adopted in England. After listening to the arguments of those around him, "he professed himself," says Ludlow, "unresolved; and, having learned what he could of the principles and intentions of those present at the conference, he took up a cushion, and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs." This was, indeed, a strange method of dissolving an assembly called together to consider of matters so grave; yet was it at least equalled in inconsistency by the behaviour of the same man, when required to sign the warrant for his sovereign's execution. Having laughed and jeered during the period of adjourn-

ment, he prefaced his act of regicide by smearing with ink the face of his coadjutor Henry Morton, and permitting Morton to play off the same practical joke upon himself. Nevertheless we have the best ground for asserting, that in the latter case, if not in the former, Cromwell's mirth was forced and unnatural. Sir Purbeck Temple, one of the commissioners appointed to try the king, but who refused to act, tells us, that, being concealed in the painted chamber, he was enabled to watch the conduct of the judges. While they deliberated, news was brought that his majesty had just landed at sir Robert Cotton's stairs; upon which Cromwell, running to the window to look upon him as he advanced up the garden, returned in a moment to his seat, "as white as the wall."

The reasons which have induced us to remain silent respecting events so memorable, operate to hinder our giving any detail of the numerous and pressing attempts made by individuals and nations to bring over the subject of this memoir, even in part, to the royal cause. It is well known how his cousin, colonel Cromwell, laid before him a sheet of paper, with the signature of the prince of Wales alone inscribed on it, leaving it to himself to supply the blank, provided only the king's life were saved. It is equally well known how powerfully the proposal moved him; and how desperate was the struggle between a lesser and a greater ambition, before the latter prevailed. But Cromwell felt or fancied that he had already gone so far, that to retreat in safety was impracticable. The envoy, who had withdrawn to his inn, to await there the decision of his relative, received a message, long after midnight, that he might retire to rest; and on the day following Charles I. perished upon the scaffold.

No language of ours were adequate to describe the ferment excited in every part of the kingdom, so soon as the bloody event which marked the 30th of January, 1648, became known. Multitudes who had hitherto gone with the stream, under a delusive expectation that

the formalities of a trial were intended only to force Charles to a compliance with popular feeling, were painfully awakened by it to a sense of their danger; and all, no matter to what party originally attached, became satisfied that the sole object of Cromwell and his confederates was to abolish monarchy, and to substitute in its room a military form of government, which should admit neither of king nor house of lords. Nor were the proceedings of parliament consequent upon the execution slow in testifying to the justice of these apprehensions. The house of commons, after filling up a few vacant seats with members suitable to the designs of the faction which governed there, first passed a resolution that no more addresses should be made to the peers; and then decreed that, as the existence of an upper house was useless and dangerous, it ought to be abolished. Then followed a vote, declaring that monarchy was extinguished in England; next a new great seal was engraved, bearing a representation of their own body, with the legend, "On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648;" and, last of all, the statues of his majesty being removed both from the Exchange and St. Paul's, the pedestal of the latter was marked by the inscription "Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus."* Thus the constitution fell by the hands of those very persons who had been the most forward to complain of its abuses and demand their redress, a tremendous warning to all nations, in all ages, how perilous it is to innovate rashly and sweepingly upon long-established usages, even when these are admitted to be defective in some of their minor operations.

We pass by the measures now adopted for the administration of public affairs, with simply reminding the reader, that a council of state, which included Cromwell, Bradshaw, and St. John the younger, was nominated to discharge the functions of the executive. From the civil duties thus imposed upon him, Oliver was, however, soon called away, by the breaking out of an exten-

* The Tyrant is gone,—the last of the Kings.

sive and daring mutiny in the army. Careful as he had been to fill up the ranks of that body with men devoted to his own wishes, he had permitted them to learn too much of their own strength, by sanctioning, if he did not openly establish, their councils of adjutators. The consequence was that, having defeated parliament, and raised the lieutenant-general to his present pitch of power, these very men now ventured to demand that he should immediately descend from it, and that an absolute equality of ranks should be established in the realm. Cromwell acted in this trying predicament with his customary decision and firmness. He surrounded one regiment which had hoisted the white cockade, commanded four of the ringleaders to stand forth, caused them to decide by lots which should die, and shot the individual chosen on the spot. He then, after compelling the remainder to remove the badge of disaffection from their hats, hastened to Banbury, where a much more formidable revolt had taken place; and, coming upon the mutineers by surprise, after a march of forty miles performed in one day, cut them to pieces. It is true that the unhappy men had been previously deceived into a neglect of all vigilance, by the assurances of one of Oliver's agents that their complaints would be patiently investigated; nevertheless Cromwell saw no reason why they should not suffer the extreme of military execution. They were literally destroyed where they lay.

Having thus restored order, Cromwell returned by way of Oxford to London, where the state of Ireland, in open and flagrant rebellion, gave great uneasiness to his coadjutors in office. It was determined to send a large army thither; and Cromwell, after his usual protestations of unfitness and disinclination, consented to take the command. Large sums of money were placed at his disposal: he was endowed with the title and powers of lord lieutenant; and, followed by 17,000 veterans, he arrived in Dublin on the 15th of August, 1649. Cromwell found matters in a better state than he had been led to expect. The siege of the capital was raised: Ormond

had sustained a defeat; and the strength of the other party lay chiefly in its fortified towns and well-appointed garrisons. Against these a campaign was immediately opened, which, if remarkable for the severity with which it was conducted, is not less remarkable on account of its vigour and success. Drogheda, with a garrison of nearly 3000 men, was, after a few days of open trenches, taken by assault; and every soul found in arms, with multitudes whose only crime was their religion, were butchered. This occurred on the 16th of September; and on the 20th Wexford was invested. Here, treason not less than force was employed; for an officer attached to the garrison admitted, during a parley, a portion of the parliamentary forces into their citadel. In a moment the assault was given; and unarmed men and helpless women, equally with soldiers, died in the indiscriminating slaughter which followed the defeat of the defenders. After such terrible examples, no town or castle ventured to hold out. Cromwell passed from place to place in a species of triumph, suffering more from sickness and the weather than from the swords of the enemy; nor was it till the middle of December that he finally withdrew into winter quarters.

The first day of February, 1650, found this indefatigable warrior again in the field; and again were all his efforts crowned with a degree of success hitherto without a parallel. Kilkenny, it is true, made a gallant defence, repelling one attempt to storm, and submitting at last on capitulation; while the garrison of Clonmell, after successfully resisting an assault, contrived to escape from the place: but the place itself was taken, as was almost every other strong hold in possession either of the royalist or native partisans. At length Oliver drew towards Waterford, of which he was preparing to form the siege, when information of serious movements elsewhere came in, accompanied by an urgent entreaty from his friends in London, that he would hurry over to the support of the commonwealth. Cromwell did not pause to deliberate. Investing Ireton with the chief command, and formally

nominating him deputy, he hastened to England, where he found that his presence had never been more pressingly needed.

The Scots, ashamed of their own baseness in delivering up Charles I. to his murderers, and no wise disposed to receive the new form of government set up in London, had for some time back been intriguing with the prince of Wales, whom they were prepared to acknowledge as their sovereign, provided he would subscribe the solemn league and covenant, and abandon Montrose and his friends. Charles, though not oppressed with the scruples which actuated his father, was yet unwilling to throw himself upon a body whom he personally abhorred, and resisted, for a while, all the efforts of the presbyterians to bring him over to their wishes. The failure of Montrose, however, and the desperate state of his affairs in Ireland, at last prevailed upon him to give way; and he came over to Scotland, where he was welcomed with a strange mixture of popular ênthusiasm and fanatical reproach. An army was promptly raised, of which the command was given to Leslie, an officer second to none of his day in skill and experience; and preparations were made to advance into England, where a powerful party, it was presumed, would rally round him. Such was the state of public affairs, when, in the month of June, Cromwell arrived in London; and, amid the plaudits of a giddy crowd and the congratulations of an obsequious senate, took his seat in the house of commons.

The great question immediately introduced related to the most efficacious means of resisting the invasion with which the realm was threatened. The Scots, by proclaiming prince Charles king of Scotland, England, Ireland, and France, had virtually declared war against the commonwealth; and it now remained to be seen by what steps the danger would be met. Cromwell gave it as his decided opinion, that the only certain method of avoiding the misery of war at home, was to anticipate the enemy by carrying it into their own country; and the parliament sanctioning the proposition, and voting the

employment of a large army in the service, the command was, as justice required, offered to Fairfax, still nominally the commander in chief of the parliamentary forces; but Fairfax, though a misguided, was truly an honest man. A rigid presbyterian, and a steady adherent to the solemn league and covenant, he could not so regulate his conscience as to disguise from himself the enormity of bearing arms against the supporters of his own principles; and he resisted, in consequence, every entreaty both of Cromwell and the house to bias his more sober judgment. We leave to others the task of accounting for the extreme energy of Cromwell on this occasion: we content ourselves with observing, that in proportion as the general's resolution appeared immovable, the efforts of the lieutenant-general to shake it increased, till tears themselves (no unusual argument with Oliver) were employed to no purpose. At last Fairfax was permitted to resign; and Cromwell, amid loud and frequent expressions of sorrow that so heavy a load should be imposed upon him, was advanced to the highest military station in the commonwealth.

Equally prompt in devising as in the execution of his plans, Cromwell lost not a moment in equipping a fleet, which he loaded with provisions, and directed to move along the coast for the purpose of providing against any scarcity which might occur. He then gave orders that the army, which had already concentrated at York, should set out towards the border; and, on the 29th, began his own journey for the purpose of overtaking it. At what precise time this event befell, we have been unable to ascertain. On the 11th of July, however, the troops, which had quitted York a fortnight previously, encamped within eighteen miles of Berwick; and, on the 22d, the whole, filing through that town, bivouacked on an open plain in the vicinity of Mordington-house. Here strict orders were issued that the men should be restrained from every act of violence towards the unresisting inhabitants; and, a proclamation being drawn up with the design of soothing the alarm of the Scottish people, strenuous efforts

were made to force it into circulation. But Cromwell soon found that he had entered a country where he would be called upon to contend, not only against the valour of armed bands, but against an enraged population. Every village was deserted, except by a few of the women, the aged, and the children. Not a morsel of food for men or grain for horses was left; and in some places the very hovels were burned to the ground, evidently by their desperate owners. It was to no purpose that the general strove, under such circumstances, to make his humane intentions known; seeing that all who might have been acted upon by them were fled, leaving a desert behind. He therefore marched on, no enemy showing themselves, except an occasional party of horse, some of whom, venturing to engage his patrols, were made prisoners; till he arrived at Musselburgh, on the 28th, about noon, and there took up his quarters.

While Cromwell was thus preparing to carry fire and sword into the heart of Scotland, his adversaries were neither unmindful of the perils to which they were exposed, nor remiss in preparing to meet them. About 16,000 foot and 6000 horse were assembled, of which something less than 5000 had seen service before; which, establishing themselves in position so as cover the approaches to Edinburgh, laid waste, as we have just stated, the whole country between their lines and the border. The ministers and chiefs of this levy failed not to add the weight of their misrepresentations to the hostility which as yet existed between the two nations. They described Cromwell as antichrist, who came to destroy the true faith; as a monster of cruelty, who spared neither age nor sex in his wrath; and they so wrought upon the imaginations of the people at large, that the recommendation to abandon their houses was every where followed. Hence it arose, that the invaders were compelled to endure heavy privations, even while advancing "with the step of conquerors;" and hence, so soon as the slightest check occurred, they were liable to

perish utterly, should their supplies, by stress of weather chance to fail them.

Cromwell permitted his army to rest only during the afternoon and night of that day on which he arrived at Musselburgh. At an early hour on the following morning his columns were again in motion; nor did any great while elapse ere the two armies arrived in presence of one another. The Scots, possessing the strong fort of Leith, which secured them effectually on their left from being turned, extended along the side of the Calton Hill, and crossing what is now the great road to London, so as to rest their right upon the castle, were covered on every assailable point by redoubts and breastworks. Their outposts occupied the declivity of Arthur's Seat, and the roots of the Salisbury Crags, besides lining the wall of the King's Park; while their guns, advantageously posted on every eminence, ranged, by a cross line of fire, from one end of the position to another. Cromwell saw and justly estimated the formidable posture in which his enemies awaited him. Having driven in the pickets, and wasted a few hours in a distant and not very destructive cannonade, he ordered his men to pile their arms; and the English passed the night around watchfires hastily lighted, in the open fields, without either food or shelter.

Hopeless of success should he hazard an attack on such a line, and destitute of all supplies necessary to maintain him where he was, Cromwell issued orders, two hours before dawn, for the army to retire. The rearmost divisions were already approaching Musselburgh, and those nearest to the enemy had quitted the ground, when a strong corps of Scottish cavalry furiously assailed them, overwhelming by superior numbers the squadrons left to cover the retreat, and making some prisoners. Fresh troops soon arrived to reinforce the parliamentarians, and a fierce and obstinate affair ensued, which ended in the total repulse of the Scots, with heavy loss. Yet were the latter far from dispirited. The weather having broken, they saw the invaders drenched with rain, and knew that they must suffer severely in other respects. They accordingly

made a second attempt, on the following morning, to penetrate with a select corps into Musselburgh; and they were not beaten back till after a sanguinary action, in which great gallantry was displayed on both sides. Nevertheless Cromwell, though again victorious, judged it prudent to continue his retrogression as far as Dunbar, whither the fleet had at length arrived; and the Scots, overawed by their reverses in the last two encounters, offered no serious opposition to the movement.

The last march was performed between the 6th and the 13th of August. On the 17th, after receiving ample supplies of all kinds, the army again advanced and took up a new position among the Pentland Hills, from whence they threatened the line of communication between Edinburgh and the western counties. For such a contingency it soon appeared that Leslie had not been unprepared. Between the Pentland Hills and the road to Stirling there is a strath or valley, through which runs the little river of Leith, and which, in those days, was one vast bog, impassable, except at intervals, even for men on foot. Behind this Leslie drew up his men, leaving small garrisons in Collinton, Redhall, Dalhousie, Craigmellar, and other castellated mansions, all of which annoyed the English as they approached, and rendered them extremely uneasy as to the safety of their convoys and stores. These places Cromwell was compelled to invest, without being able to reduce any of them; while between his horse and that of the Scots constant affairs took place, not always to the advantage of the southerns. There were, moreover, some encounters between the musketeers on either side, with a good deal of cannonading from one edge of the morass to the other; but in the end the English were fain to fall back upon the Pentlands, while the Scots filed again into the lines in front of Edinburgh. Finally, Cromwell, losing great numbers by sickness, and despairing of success, retreated upon Musselburgh, being followed and harassed at every step by Leslie's horse; from whence he continued his march, first upon Haddington, and ultimately to his grand depôt, the town of Dunbar.

That Leslie was so far completely successful in this campaign every reader must perceive; indeed, that the parliamentarians were not unconscious of the perilous plight in which they stood, the following extract from captain Hodgson's memoir may suffice to prove. Speaking of the continued retrogression from Haddington, he says, "We staid until about ten o'clock; had been at prayer in several regiments; sent away our wagons and carriages towards Dunbar; and not long afterwards marched, a poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army; and the Scots pursued so very close, that our rear-guard had much ado to secure our poor weak foot that was not able to march up. We drew near Dunbar towards night, and the Scots ready to fall upon our rear; two guns played upon them, and so they drew off and left us that night, having got us into a pound as they reckoned." Nor was this opinion grounded upon any serious misapprehension; the invaders were indeed in "a pound," from which, but for the folly of the ministers who accompanied the Scots, and the influence which they unhappily possessed among the troops, not all the skill of Cromwell himself could have delivered them.

Dunbar, a seaport town, lies in a valley surrounded on three sides by an amphitheatre of hills, in which there are two narrow openings; one on the north, the other on the south, where the road passes from Berwick to Edinburgh. Of these hills, as well as of both the passes, the Scots were in actual possession; and the labour of a few hours would have sufficed to throw up such works, as, with their superior numbers, might have defied the utmost exertions of their enemies. It was the ardent desire of Leslie to adopt this plain and obvious course; but Leslie's authority was, after all, but as dust in the balance when compared with that of the fanatical preachers. These proclaimed aloud that the Lord had delivered antichrist into the hands of his people: they exhorted the soldiers, at morning and evening exercise, to march down in the might of the Most High; and reminding them how Gideon had wrought salvation for Israel, and

assuring them of a like result, were not sparing in their abuse of the over-caution of Leslie, whom they openly accused of lukewarmness in the cause of the covenant. By these means the men became inflamed to the highest pitch of fury: no reasoning on the part of the general would be listened to, and they insisted upon attacking the enemy where he lay, instead of waiting quietly till famine and sickness, both of which raged within his camp, should compel him to surrender at discretion. Nor was this all. In the exuberance of fanatical zeal, they not only sent the king to the rear, but insisted upon purging the army of all malignants; in other words, prohibited any of the oldest and most experienced soldiers, the rough but gallant cavaliers, from taking part in the action. Never, surely, was folly more egregious, and never was the punishment of folly more prompt or more complete.

It was the 1st of September when Cromwell's army entered Dunbar: the whole of the 2d was passed under arms, with the ardent, but as yet baseless hope, that the enemy would abandon their strong ground and risk a battle on the plain. The same night a council of war was held, in which the propriety of embarking the foot, and striving to force a passage for the horse, was debated; but, the wind being boisterous, and the surf running high, the project was pronounced altogether inadmissible. It was next suggested, as a sort of forlorn hope, that a strong reconnoissance should be pushed a little before dawn, in the direction of the right; and that according to the result of this movement future operations should be guided. No determination could have been formed more fortunate for the out-generalled English. That very morning, the advice of the fanatics prevailing, the Scots were in march down the southern pass to attack the invaders; and the two columns met midway between the hills and the sea, not far from Roxburgh-house. A fierce and sanguinary action ensued, during which the two lines of infantry fought hand to hand, till the English cavalry, charging with prodigious effect, put

the Scots absolutely to the rout.* Now it was that the very excess of numbers told against them: broken in front, on a piece of ground so rugged that the fugitives could not escape except by overthrowing those that would have supported them, the whole of the Scottish right was irretrievably ruined; while the English, following them close in the rear, gained the ridge, and completely turned the position. A disgraceful and murderous rout instantly began. The left of the Scots, which Cromwell's well-directed artillery had kept in check, seeing themselves approached on equal terms, fled without striking a blow; while the centre, already more than half defeated by a charge of the English horse, precipitately quitted their ground. Of all the victories won by Cromwell, that of Dunbar was, beyond comparison, at once the most important and the most complete. His prisoners alone amounted to 3000 or 4000; upwards of 800 men lay dead on the field; and the entire park of the enemy, amounting to thirty pieces, fell into his hands. Yet was it a conquest for which, perhaps, less than any other, he was indebted to his own genius and foresight. Had Leslie been permitted to act upon his original plans, the possibility of fighting under circumstances such as occurred never would have been afforded; for once, therefore, Cromwell spoke the truth, when he denied that any share of the merit attaching to the achievement belonged to him.

This great victory was no sooner secured, than Cromwell, after calling upon the country people by public proclamation to remove the wounded and take care of

* The following anecdote, given by captain Hodgson in his memoirs, appears to us full of interest. The English cavalry had charged and shaken the Scots; when "the general himself comes in the rear of our regiment, and commands to incline to the left, that is, to take more ground to be clear of all bodies: and we did so; and horse and foot were engaged all over the field, and the Scots all in confusion. And the sun appearing upon the sea, I heard Knoll say, 'Now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered;' and he following us, as we slowly marched, I heard him say, 'I profess they run,' and there was the Scots army all in disorder and running, both right wing and left, and main battle" There is something almost poetical in the employment of such language, at a moment so critical; and that it had its full effect upon the enthusiasts whom Cromwell commanded, admits not of a doubt. What a subject for a painter acquainted with the wild scenery of that coast!

them, began his march upon Edinburgh. The city immediately opened its gates; but the Castle refusing to surrender, the care of reducing it by process of siege was intrusted to a division of the army; while Oliver, with the remainder, moved leisurely in the direction of Stirling, whither the Scots had retreated. On the 14th of September head-quarters were established at Niddery, a village about eight miles to the westward of the capital. On the 15th, the column which had passed Linlithgow, was compelled by stress of weather to return and pass the night there. The 16th found them at Falkirk, a royal residence, of which the palace being filled with gentlemen, refused to open its gates; though the garrison freely consented to abstain from harassing the English convoys, provided they were themselves permitted to rest quiet till after Stirling should submit; and next day Cromwell, quartering many of his men in the church of St. Ninians, sent forward a trumpeter to summon Stirling. A bold answer was returned to the message, and the invader made dispositions to try the fortune of an assault; but the place was found, on examination, too strong, and the idea was abandoned.

The season was now far advanced, and a constant succession of heavy rains began seriously to affect the health of the troops. Cromwell, who determined to give them rest, accordingly began his march to the rear, and, first establishing a place of arms in Linlithgow, withdrew with the mass of his people into Edinburgh. Here the siege of the Castle, which had hitherto languished, was pressed with great vigour. Mines were run under the walls with so much address that their existence remained a secret to the garrison until the chambers had been loaded, and in the end, on Christmas eve, after a siege of little more than two months, the place submitted.

Whether the event arose from other causes than the skill and diligence of Oliver's engineers has been variously and contradictorily stated. There are not wanting historians who accuse Dundas the governor of betraying his trust for money; there are others who

represent him as a timid man, on whom the distracted condition of his own party operated in a degree too powerful for his integrity; while a third class assert that he was wrought upon by the theological communications of Oliver, who took care to wrest Scripture and scriptural phrases boldly to his own purposes. How far any one of these statements may have in it a tincture of truth we are not prepared to determine; we only know, that of the act of surrender itself, no man has spoken except in terms of disapprobation.

Thus master of the prime bulwark of Scotland, Cromwell employed himself, during the remainder of the winter, as well in endeavouring to gain over a party in the nation to his ends, as in subduing a few forts along the shores of the Firth of Forth; and reducing, by desultory inroads, the more refractory of the southern districts. As spring drew on, however, he proposed again to take the field in earnest; but, being seized with an ague, he was during many weeks not only confined to his chamber, but to his bed. He was sedulously attended all the while by two physicians, whom the parliament in its great zeal had despatched to his assistance; and, either through their skill, or by the excellence of his own constitution, he recovered. Nevertheless, the 1st of July arrived ere he found himself in a condition to endure the fatigues of a campaign; and even then his health cannot be said to have been perfectly re-established.

Of the leisure thus afforded, the royalists, if such they deserve to be called, scarcely made all the use which might have been expected. The preachers, attributing their recent reverses, not to their own officious and impertinent interference, but to the anger of the Lord because of the presence of malignants in the camp, busied themselves in expelling from the army almost every officer and soldier whose skill or experience qualified him to direct the movement of raw levies, or animate them by his example. Leslie alone was permitted to retain his command, and Leslie was, it is true, a host;

but even he found himself crippled in the execution of complicated manœuvres by the absence of such subordinates as he could trust. Nevertheless he took post in a strong position amid the openings of the Tor-wood, which enabled him to command both the approaches to Stirling and the great road into the more western counties; and there he stood ready either to receive a battle, or to thwart such attempts as might be made to separate him from his supplies.

It was early in the second week of July when Cromwell made his appearance; his people occupying Falkirk, Linlithgow, and all the villages and seats in the neighbourhood. His first design was to push along the direct line to Stirling; and in the attempt to accomplish it many smart skirmishes took place. But Leslie had so posted his battalions, that they could not be approached except under every imaginable disadvantage; and Cromwell was too prudent a commander to throw away the lives of his men to no purpose. He accordingly manœuvred so as to turn the right of the Scottish line, and thus penetrate, by Kilsyth and the northern parts of Lanarkshire, towards the Grampians; but here, again, the vigilance and activity of Leslie were displayed, and Oliver was a second time foiled. One resource alone remained, and it was hazardous; yet he resolved to embrace it. He suddenly marched a corps towards Queensferry, which seized the craft lying upon the river; and, crossing into Fifeshire, threatened the rear of the Scottish army, as well as all the northern and some of the western counties. Even against this emergency Leslie had not failed to provide; for general Holbourne was in Fife, at the head of 2500 men, between whom and Lambert, the commander of Oliver's detachment, a fierce contest ensued. Had Lambert sustained a defeat, no exertion of talent, nothing short of infatuation among the Scots themselves, could have saved Oliver from destruction. His army, originally less numerous than that of Leslie, was now so weakened, that, had the latter been enabled to act against him with his whole force, he must

have overwhelmed him; and a retreat into England, over a desert country, and in the presence of a victorious and infuriated enemy, would have been impracticable. But the fortune of Cromwell did not forsake him. After a severe struggle, in which victory more than once inclined to the side of the Scots, Holbourne's men gave way, and were pursued, with prodigious slaughter, by the parliamentarians. Cromwell made haste to turn the victory to account, by acting upon the new line which it opened out to him. He withdrew silently from Leslie's front, gained Queensferry unnoticed, and passing the Forth with his whole army, marched rapidly towards Perth.

On the last day of July the English arrived before the town, and began, without loss of time, to push their approaches. It was a place of no strength, being surrounded merely by an old wall, and commanded on all sides within less than half cannon shot; at the end of two days, therefore, after a trifling loss on both sides, it opened its gates. But the satisfaction arising out of this fresh conquest was over clouded almost as soon as felt by the receipt of a very unlooked-for piece of intelligence from the vicinity of Stirling. Cromwell was busy superintending the erection of a new citadel, by means of which he designed to hold the city in subjection, when information reached him, that the king had suddenly broken up his camp at Tor-wood, and was now in rapid march towards the border. It was stated, moreover, that not the northern counties of England only, but the midland, and even the southern districts, were all ripe for revolt, and that crowds of partisans waited but the appearance of the royal standard in order to rally round it. Resolute as Cromwell was, his correspondence at this time indicates that he beheld the aspect which affairs had assumed not without alarm. Yet was he far from despairing. He wrote, on the contrary, to the executive, in terms of earnest solicitation, it is true, but his language was not the less bold and manly; while he suggested such measures as appeared

best calculated to avert the fury of a storm, of the possible effects of which he made no concealment. He directed the militias and trained bands to be every where called out; he advised a strict watch to be kept over the movements of suspected persons; and he caused proclamations to be made, warning the people of the dangers to which they might, by possibility, be exposed. Finally, he issued orders for the prompt assembling of a corps of observation, which should hang upon the steps of the royalists, and impede their progress, without permitting itself to be drawn into a battle; and as the means of organising such a force lay, as it were, within reach, no difficulty in accomplishing that part of his project was experienced.

It chanced that at this time Thomson occupied Newcastle, with nine battalions of infantry, and a few guns. Cromwell ordered the whole of his own cavalry, under Lambert, to push, by forced marches, upon the same point; and instructed the generals, so soon as a junction should be formed, to throw themselves boldly in the king's way. As Charles had taken the western road, by Carlisle, no difficulty was experienced in fulfilling the first of these commands; while the second was accomplished just as the cavaliers were about to pass the Mersey. The republicans had, moreover, by carrying the militias along with them, swelled the amount of their force to nine thousand men; and, encouraged partly by that circumstance, partly by the issue of a skirmish at Wigan, where lord Derby sustained a defeat from colonel Lilburne, they made a dash to destroy the bridge. But in this they failed, the advance of the royalists being already in possession; nor were they more successful in an effort to arrest the progress of the king by a show of hazarding a battle. A few charges of cavalry alone took place, from which no result whatever accrued; for it was neither the interest nor the design of Charles to weaken his force, by fighting thus far from the capital. He took no notice whatever of the display which the republicans made;

but finding the road open, passed rapidly, yet in good order, to his f· nt.

Though he had now traversed a considerable portion of England, the recruits which came into the ranks of the adventurous monarch were scarcely sufficient to repa'r the losses which he sustained by desertion. The friends of royalty, either kept down by the attitude of their enemies, or weary of civil war, and anxious to put an end to it at any cost, hung back in most quarters from the fulfilment of their promises; while, in others, the fanatical perverseness of the preachers who accompanied his hosts, drove from his standard multitudes who desired to join it. These bigots would not degrade their cause by permitting any persons to fight for the king who would not consent, first of all, to subscribe to the "covenant;" and here not episcopalians or catholics only, but the more moderate of the Lancashire presbyterians, were rudely rejected. The consequence was, that Charles marched on without getting the slightest addition to his strength; for even Derby, while conducting three hundred men from the Isle of Man, permitted himself to be surprised and defeated. Still hope did not desert him. He hurried to Worcester, where he was immediately proclaimed king, amid the hearty rejoicings of the gentry; and where, partly that he might rest his people, worn out by recent exertions, partly under the expectation that the Welsh would hasten in crowds to his standard, he halted. It was an unwise, and, as the event proved, a most disastrous determination. Had he continued to press on, there was no force between him and the capital capable of delaying his progress six hours; and the possession of London, even at this juncture, might have turned the tide of fortune in his favour. But the truth appears to be, that the hardihood which had sustained both men and officers so far began at length to give way. They saw around them a population, if not hostile, at least indifferent; of the hopes held out by the more sanguine of their friends, not one had been realised; and the means of escape, in

the event of disaster, came to be considered not less anxiously than those of victory. But, however judicious it might have been to weigh these chances maturely, while yet their inroad was among the things of the future, to look to aught except its accomplishment, now that they were fairly embarked in it, argued a deficiency, not more of courage than of prudence. They had deliberately taken up a desperate game: their very existence depended on playing it to the last card.

While Charles was thus lingering at Worcester, Cromwell urged his pursuit with characteristic activity; and swelled the amount of his means from day to day, by carrying along with him all the militias and trained bands from the towns and districts in the north. On the 20th he reached Doncaster; on the 22d he entered Nottingham; and proceeding thence by Coventry and Stratford-on-Avon, he arrived on the 27th at Evesham. From this place, his patrols soon took up a communication with the corps under Lambert and Harrison; and, on the 28th, the whole, amounting to little short of 30,000 men, were in position within two miles of Worcester. There Cromwell, without loss of time, matured his plans for bringing matters to the issue of a general action; and, as the royalists no longer possessed the means to avoid a battle, they in like manner stood ready to accept it when offered.

Having approached his enemy from the east, Cromwell saw himself cut off from giving an immediate assault by the waters of the Severn, along the right bank of which the city of Worcester is built. He found, moreover, that the bridges, both above and below the town, were broken; that every boat and punt had been removed; and that Charles watched, with becoming jealousy, the whole course of the stream. In like manner, an extensive line of fires gave notice that the heights around the town were occupied in force; and the reports of the country people warned him to expect an obstinate and even a desperate resistance. But Cromwell knew that in point of numbers he exceeded the royalists so much,

that what, under other circumstances, would have savoured of rashness, might, in the present case, be attempted with every probability of success. He formed the daring resolution, therefore, to throw himself astride upon two rivers; to force a passage, not only on the Severn, but on the Team; and, coming down upon the city from the high grounds which overlook it on the west and north, to cut off all retreat from the royalists. This was a plan worthy of the genius of Cromwell, and it succeeded beyond even his most sanguine expectations.

The interval between the 28th of August and the 3d of September was devoted in part to the preparing of materials for the construction of a bridge of boats, in part to the accomplishment of certain military operations preliminary to the grand movement. From Stratford, Warwick, and other places on the Avon, cobbles were conveyed overland on cars, till a sufficient number was brought together for the purpose immediately in view. Meanwhile a body of horse, under Lilburne, marched up the Severn, and, seizing Bewdley bridge, established posts of observation along the great line of retreat to the north. On the 3d, again, a still more important manœuvre occurred. While Cromwell diverted the attention of the royalists by a display of troops opposite the town, general Lambert suddenly led a division towards Upton, of which the bridge had been cut only in part, and its defence intrusted to general Massey. Lambert attacked his opponent with inconceivable fury. Though a single plank traversed the stream, his pikemen pushed steadily onwards, while his cannon and musketeers swept the space in their front, and his cavalry made repeated attempts to gain the opposite bank by swimming. For some time the combat was maintained on both sides with great obstinacy. Massey felt that this was the key of his master's position, and he maintained it with the gallantry of a devoted partisan; but he received, at last, a severe wound, and was carried from the field. A panic instantly seized his troops. After having repeatedly driven the republicans from the very end of the plank,

all steadiness now forsook them, and they retreated, carrying their disabled chief along with them, in the utmost confusion. In a moment Lambert had won the opposite bank ; the broken arch was promptly and sufficiently repaired; and, before nightfall, 10,000 chosen men took their ground along the course of the Team.

Alarmed by these movements, Charles issued orders for the destruction of the bridges on the latter stream; and, at an early hour in the morning of the 1st, they were obeyed. Still the calculations of Cromwell had been accurately made, and their results were certain. He directed Fleetwood, to whom the guidance of the detached corps was now intrusted, at all hazards to re-establish the bridges, and, after a good deal of skirmishing, the Team was every where crossed. Finally, a bridge of boats was thrown upon the Severn, about half a mile below the town; a direct line of communication between the wings of the army was established; and the king's troops, hemmed in on all sides, lay exposed either to a disastrous battle, or to the equally sure though more tedious process of reduction by investment.

We have given the numbers of Cromwell's army, inclusive of militia and trained bands, at 30,000 men; that of the king scarcely came up to 13,000; and the reader will naturally ask why, with such a superiority, the parliamentary general should have scrupled to adopt the more safe as well as the more humane process, of ending the war by blockade? It is not a hard task to account for the future protector's decision. In the first place, the militias, unaccustomed to protracted operations, might grow weary of a lengthened campaign, and desert to their homes. In the next place,—and this was to him by far the more influential reason of the two,—Cromwell was not ignorant that the existing government exercised its prerogatives in direct opposition to the wills of the great majority in the nation. Not the episcopalians only, but the presbyterians, with the catholics and all except the independents, were heartily disgusted with the new order which things had assumed; and scarcely

concealed their intention of bringing back the son of their murdered sovereign, and reinstating him in the authority which his fathers had wielded. It argued not a little in favour of the talent and energy of a faction, that, in spite of such a feeling against them, they still continued to hold the reins of government; yet would it have shown an excess of weakness in Cromwell, had he, in perfect knowledge of all this, permitted a mistaken compassion for human suffering to produce any the slightest delay in bringing matters to a crisis. Now, whatever Cromwell's faults might be, an excess of womanish pity can certainly not be numbered among them. Aware that all was at stake; that the prize for which he had thrown, and which was already in a great degree within his reach, might, should a few weeks pass in inactivity, be wrested from him; he no sooner made himself master of both banks of the Severn, than he prepared to strike for more: nor were the dispositions consequent upon this determination marked by less of intelligence, than the reasoning which dictated them savoured of gallantry and discretion.

It was on the 3d of September, the anniversary of his great victory at Dunbar, that Cromwell prepared to strike for a still greater, because a more decisive conquest. At an early hour in the morning, Fleetwood's division began to advance, driving in, by a musketry fire, the royal outposts, and gradually ascending the eminences in their front. Charles, who had mounted one of the towers of the cathedral, saw and comprehended the nature of this movement, and ordered a strong reinforcement both of horse and foot to support the pickets. These stoutly maintained themselves, and for the space of half an hour rolled back the tide of battle towards the Team; when, fresh battalions arriving to the assistance of Fleetwood, he again took and retained the lead. The Scots fought well. They disputed every hedge and fence; repeatedly charging as opportunities offered, and never giving ground except at the pike's point; yet were they borne back by the weight of superior numbers, till the ridge

itself was lost. Then, indeed, their retreat became more rapid as well as disorderly; nor was it till the garden walls and enclosures about the town afforded a temporary shelter that they ventured to show a front to the assailants.

All this while the battle raged with great fury in other quarters. The royalists, hoping that the republicans on the left of the Severn had weakened themselves by detaching too largely to the right bank, attacked them there with such fury, that it required all the vigilance of the general, as well as the discipline and hardihood of his troops, to maintain the field. The militia regiments, which formed the first line, were indeed broken and routed; but the veteran battalions, closing up, checked and repulsed the victors, chased them eventually within the walls, and threatened them even there. A redoubt, called Fort Royal, which commanded the main approach to the town, was, after half an hour's battering, stormed and taken; and 1500 men, who had thrown themselves into it, died on the spot. This was followed by a second attack upon such bands as still lined the hedges and enclosures; while Fleetwood, following up his successes on the other side, converted a retreat into a rout, and menaced the city by Friar Street. It was in vain that the fugitives exclaimed aloud for the cavalry to support them. By some unaccountable mistake, that arm was never fairly brought into play till the proper opportunity of wielding it had passed; and hence the infantry, disheartened by their losses, were pushed pell-mell back into the town. Then, indeed, an effort was made to charge; but it was too late. Encumbered by crowds of fugitives, and exposed to a plunging fire of cannon, the troopers refused to dash forward; nor was their reluctance overcome even by the impassioned exclamation of the young king, "Shoot me through the head, and let me not live to see the sad consequences of this day."

The sun had by this time set, and the night was fast closing, yet the battle continued to rage with unabated

fury. The republicans, pouring across both rivers, furiously attacked the suburbs, and driving the dispirited royalists before them, gained house after house, and street after street, till the market-place itself became threatened. It was now that Charles, perceiving the absolute overthrow of all hope, thought, at the urgent entreaty of his friends, of providing for his own safety. One desperate charge was organised; it was given, and for a brief space succeeded, under cover of which the young king made good his escape amid a throng of fugitive horsemen; but the city, all the stores and *materiel*, with not fewer than 8000 prisoners, remained in the hands of the conquerors. The killed again amounted to full 2000 more, including the devoted garrison of Fort Royal; while something less than 3000 of all ranks alone quitted the place. On the side of the conquerors, it is not easy to state how many perished; for Cromwell seems to have been to the full as well versed in the art of concealing his own losses as any commander of modern times; yet, making due allowance for mis-statements, we shall probably not exceed the truth, when we put it down at less than 500 men. Nevertheless, had it doubled this amount, the loss must have been accounted light indeed, seeing that with the great victory of Worcester ended all the hopes and attempts of the royal party.

Such was the closing scene in the military career of Cromwell; to himself, beyond all doubt, a great and glorious one, though his exultation at the moment carried him, as Ludlow informs us, far beyond the bounds of his customary self-command. It was with much difficulty, indeed, that he was restrained from conferring the honour of knighthood on three of his officers who had particularly distinguished themselves, while his whole demeanor bore the stamp rather of a sovereign prince than of the leader of an army strictly republican. Nor, to say the truth, were his dealings with his prisoners marked by any rigid regard to the dictates of honour or humanity. It is true, that of the superior

officers only a few suffered by the hand of the executioner; but thousands of the common soldiers were shipped off to the West Indies, and sold as slaves to merchants and planters. In like manner, his bearing towards both parliament and council assumed a haughtier and more distant tone. He accepted readily enough the provision of 10,000*l.* a year granted to him by the former body, and consented, at the entreaty of the latter, to fix his abode at Hampton Court, amid a degree of splendour truly royal; but his communications with individuals became stiff, cold, and reserved, resembling those which a master holds with his menials, rather than the intercourse which equals are accustomed to maintain one with the other. The truth, indeed, is, that Cromwell believed the fitting moment to have arrived for the realisation of the most extravagant of his early dreams. The war was ended; the royal cause, smitten to earth, could not rise again; the army, all-powerful, looked up to him, or seemed to do so, with the most abject reverence; while the parliament, though wanting neither in talent nor experience, could count but little upon the support of any party in the nation. All things, in short, seemed to indicate that an absolute throne lay by no means beyond his reach; and ambition was a principle with him too active not to be called immediately into play. The consequence was, that towards the attainment of one great object all his energies of mind and body were henceforth devoted; and it is beyond dispute, that if he failed to catch the shadows, the title and the garb of royalty, he at least acquired in the end more of real and substantial power than had ever been exercised by any king of England since the accession of the Tudors.

Though it belongs not to the biographer of Oliver Cromwell, considered as one of England's most eminent military commanders, to describe at length the many and complicated affairs which exercised the latter years of his life, we deem it necessary to lay before our readers, at least, the heads of that strange series of events, through which he rose to more than regal authority, and amid

the progress of which he expired. In the first place, then, we are called upon to state, that so soon as the "crowning" victory of Worcester became known in London, both the parliament and city authorities hastened to mark their sense of the eminent services performed by the general. The former, besides settling upon him and his heirs for ever, an additional pension of 4000*l.* a year, sent a deputation of their body to congratulate him, and to request now, when the calls upon his patriotism appeared to have ceased, that he would return to the vicinity of the capital, and at once attend to his own health, and aid the senate with the weight of his councils. Hampton Court, it was suggested, would furnish him with ample and convenient lodgings; and, as he made no opposition to the suggestion, the palace was immediately put into a habitable condition. A sort of triumphal procession was then arranged, in which the lord mayor, the aldermen, and sheriffs bore a part; and the whole, including many members of the house of commons, meeting him at Aylesbury, led him, amid the shouts of an immense crowd, into London. All this was abundantly gratifying to the vanity of Cromwell,—a passion from the influence of which he was not absolutely free; but it operated in no degree towards the accomplishment of his more serious wishes, and was by him forgotten, as soon as the pageant passed away.

We have spoken of the legislature as composed at this period of men deficient neither in talent nor in spirit, though comparatively powerless through the absence of a preponderating party personally attached to themselves among the people at large. The case unquestionably was so; yet events had latterly fallen out conducive in no trifling degree to their advantage; and, as a necessary consequence, productive of increased difficulties to Cromwell. In the first place, his own absence in Scotland, together with that of his chief adherents, left them free to organise at leisure a steady system of self-defence: in the next place, the brilliant success which had attended all their undertakings, — the conquests of the

fleet over the Dutch, and of the armies acting under their auspices over the king and the Scots,—obtained for them great respect both at home and abroad. It required no ordinary courage to attack the authority of such a government, even indirectly; yet was Cromwell fully equal to any purpose on which he had ventured. With admirable skill he availed himself of two motions, which they had themselves long ago and repeatedly undertaken to entertain. To the first of these, which related to a bill of amnesty or oblivion, no serious opposition was offered. After a short discussion, the house determined that, with the exception of a few prominent cases, no enquiry should be made into any political offences committed previous to the battle of Worcester; and as Cromwell took care that his own efforts in obtaining this enactment should become generally known, he counted, and not without reason, on having thereby secured many friends even among the royalists. The second was, however, a matter of much more delicate management. He called upon the house to name a time when they should dissolve themselves; and, in spite of a stout opposition, he compelled them to limit their sittings to a period not exceeding three years. So far a shock was given to the power, to which the nation had hitherto looked up as supreme; but a short time elapsed ere the blow was repeated, after a novel fashion, indeed, but with a force increased tenfold.

While matters rested thus, and the parliament, though alarmed, could scarcely assign any specific ground of apprehension, Cromwell used every exertion to excite in the minds of those about him a feeling of discontent with the existing state of public affairs. He held frequent consultations with the leading members both of the army and the law, relative to the form of government which it behoved them eventually to adopt, for that the present was no more than temporary all men began by degrees to admit. Were we at liberty to describe even one of these interviews, a curious insight would be given into the composition of Cromwell's mind; but the

nature of our subject reminds us, that such details are necessarily reserved for another pen. Let it suffice, then, to state, that in spite of all his cunning, Cromwell could not succeed in cheating even his brother soldiers into the expression of a desire that he would himself mount the vacant throne. Such, on the contrary, as preferred a limited monarchy, recommended that the ancient line should be restored; but not a man raised his voice in favour of the "house of Cromwell, to the permanent exclusion of the house of Stuart." Oliver was mortified and offended, yet he mastered his chagrin; and having failed to plant the diadem on his own brows, he strove to obtain the power, without the title of king.

No great while elapsed ere the parliament, by a somewhat premature effort to deprive him of his chief support, brought matters to a point. Early in 1652, an act was passed for the reduction of one third of the army; and all hazard of internal war being now at an end, a measure so reasonable met with no direct opposition. Encouraged by this success, the commons, in the month of August following, proceeded to threaten another third of the troops with dismissal; but the seeds of mutiny had been already sown, and it needed only such a proposal to bring them to perfection. A deputation of officers conveyed a petition to the house, in which the claims of the army were pretty broadly set forth, and numerous and grave charges brought against the manner in which affairs had been administered elsewhere. There was no resisting an appeal thus made. The house, though openly expressing their indignation, refrained for the present from pressing the motion of reduction; and Cromwell, who now stood forward as the avowed advocate of the troops, became every day more and more the object of their well-grounded suspicions.

In this state things continued during the remainder of the year, the parliament anxious to deliver itself from the restraint of a numerous and veteran army, and Cromwell meditating from day to day the assumption, through the assistance of that very army, of absolute

power, if not of the regal title. Numerous and varied were the conferences which he held both with the lord keeper, Whitelocke, and others; but from one and all he met with a reception so cold, that he could not hazard the least attempt. The necessity of acting was, however, at length forced upon him. After wavering for some time, the parliament came to the final determination of dissolving itself, so soon as it should have disbanded the army, and named successors to the sitting members; while Cromwell, fearful of the consequences, should any such preliminary steps be taken, meditated the performance of an act which should surpass even his accustomed boldness.

Having summoned his military and political friends to a conference, he submitted to them the propriety of summarily dispersing the parliament; and though he found a majority opposed to the project, he resolved to persevere in it. He accordingly repaired, at the head of 300 musketeers, to Westminster, posted his followers in the lobby of the house, and taking his own seat on one of the further benches, listened for a while to the debates, as if he had come for no other purpose. He had occupied his place about two hours, when all at once he whispered to Harrison, who sat near, that "now he must do it." Harrison, aware of his design, entreated him to pause: "It is not an act," said he, "to be done rashly;" and Cromwell assenting to the suggestion, resumed his seat for a quarter of an hour longer. But the debates were no sooner ended, and the speaker proposed to put the question, when he rose again. "This is the time," cried he: "I must do it." Upon which he pulled off his hat, and began to address the house in a calm and even a conciliatory tone. As he proceeded, however, his animation increased, till at last a string of bitter invectives constituted the whole of his oratory, and the members found themselves assailed with accusations more personally rude than had ever been heaped on them before. Finally, he told them to be gone; that the Lord had borne with their iniquities long enough; that

they were no parliament, and should not again be permitted to assume the functions that belonged to better men. Then stamping with his foot, he called to the soldiers, who rushed in at the signal, to "take away that fool's bauble," the mace; and driving the speaker from his chair, and the members generally before him, he locked the doors of the house, and carried the keys in his pocket to Whitehall.

Having thus rudely dismissed the legislative body, his next step was to dissolve with equal rudeness the executive, or council of state. Abruptly entering the apartment in which they sat, he addressed them in these memorable words: — "Gentlemen, if ye be met here as private persons, ye shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and sure ye cannot but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice, that the parliament which appointed you is dissolved." The rest of the members stared at him in silence; but Bradshaw, the president, boldly replied, — "Sir, we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear of it; but, sir, you are mistaken if you think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." Nevertheless, the council finding that they, too, were exposed to military violence, quietly broke up.

We cannot pause to describe either the general consternation produced throughout England, by this extraordinary exertion of power on Cromwell's part, or the more covert but not less anxious efforts by which he again strove to draw from his friends an offer of supreme power. Enough is done when we state, that the latter entirely failed; that a new council of state was erected; that by the gentlemen composing it Oliver was authorised, as captain-general of the forces, to summon 142 persons, selected by themselves, who, with the appellation of a parliament, might assist in the general conduct of affairs; that this strange assembly, composed in many instances of the lowest and most worthless trades-

men in London, met; that it received the name of the "Bare-bones' Parliament," in consequence of a leather-seller in Fleet-street, called "Praise God Bare-bones," being one of its chief orators; and that, after a brief display of bigotry and folly, such as had not yet been exhibited within the walls of St. Stephen's, it in its turn becoming displeasing to Cromwell, the members composing it were, at the point of the pike, induced to dissolve themselves. A like proceeding was adopted by the new council of state, which gave up to Cromwell the whole authority of the government; without, however, expressing any opinion as to the uses to which it ought to be turned. And now, when every obstacle seemed to be removed, a club of his own creatures, though they refused him the title of king, succeeded in investing him with more than kingly authority. On the 12th of December, 1653, the Bare-bones' parliament broke up; and on the 16th Cromwell was solemnly inaugurated, in Westminster Hall, as "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland."

According to the new arrangement, the power of legislation was committed conjointly to the parliament and the protector, — the executive being lodged absolutely with the protector and his council. All writs, patents, and commissions were to issue in the name of the protector; from him all honours and offices were to be derived; and he was invested generally with the most valuable of the prerogatives of a king, though his office itself was declared to be elective. But, though thus liberal to their new sovereign, the people of England were not forgetful of themselves. Triennial parliaments were established. A novel, and, as it was esteemed at the moment, a more equitable system of representation was invented, by regulating the number of members to be returned from each county, city, and borough, in proportion to the sums paid by each towards the national expense; while the smaller boroughs were plundered of their chartered privileges, and deprived of all weight in

the body politic. No laws, it was provided, should be altered, suspended, abrogated, or enacted, — no tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, — except by the common consent of parliament; and bills passed by the two houses were, it was declared, to have the force of law, twenty days after they should have been offered to the protector, even though his assent should be refused. Such is a meagre outline of the novel constitution of which Cromwell was appointed the guardian; — how far it operated to secure the liberty and happiness of the people every reader of history must be aware.

We should deviate entirely from the design of this memoir were we to follow the bent of our own inclinations, by giving even a brief account of this the most important era in Cromwell's life. Let it suffice to state, that throughout the space of four years and nine months he wielded the destinies of the British empire with a degree of vigour unparalleled in the annals of our country. By a simple declaration of his arbitrary will he united its discordant parts, suppressing the parliaments in Edinburgh and London, and calling up representatives from Scotland and Ireland to London. His foreign policy, again, was, with one memorable exception *, both wise and vigorous. Holland he reduced to the necessity of accepting a disadvantageous peace; Sweden and Denmark he overawed; both Spain and Portugal felt the weight of his arm; and France at once courted and feared him. Yet was he both a tyrant to his own subjects, and the slave of constant apprehensions, for which there was but too much room. The parliament which he had called into existence began, even on its first meeting, to question his authority; and was, according to his usual prac[illegible], convinced by the argument of pike and [illegible] gave rise to plots and conspiracies, in [illegible] members joined, till at last he dissolved the [illegible] plainly declaring that its continuance was not [illegible]enefit of the nation. Thence followed various

* We allude to his imprudent alliance with France against Spain, of which the consequences continue to be felt even in our own times.

insurrections,— with seditions innumerable, by which the army itself was affected,— till a temper naturally stern became soured into absolute misanthropy.

In the month of September, 1656, Cromwell summoned his third parliament, which he had taken care to pack with creatures devoted to his own wishes. Its first proceeding was formally to "renounce and disannul the title of Charles Stuart unto the sovereign dominions of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland;" its second, to declare it "high treason to conspire the death of the protector." By and by, this obsequious assembly, on the motion of alderman Park, resolved, that "Cromwell should be elected king," and a deputation actually waited upon him to receive his pleasure on the subject. But Cromwell, though not less ambitious now than formerly of the royal dignity, soon found that the army were to a man determined to resist the encroachment. It was to no purpose that he employed every artifice of which he was master for the purpose of overcoming their hostility. Even Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, the widow of Ireton, and Desborough, his brother-in-law, refused their consent, while colonel Pride, formerly his ready agent, took now an active part against him. That gentleman procured a petition from the principal officers, which stated "that they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready to do so; and that finding an attempt was making to press their general to take upon him the title and government of a king, in order to destroy him, they humbly desired that the house would discountenance all such endeavours." It was impossible to misconstrue the import of declarations such as these; so Cromwell bent to the storm, and declined the proffered honour. Nevertheless his faithful commons failed not, by a fresh enactment, to afford what salve they could to his wounded vanity. They voted him protector for life, with power to name his successor; and they authorised him to bring back the form of the old constitution, by establishing a house of peers. But this measure, by which he expected to increase

his authority, proved the principal cause of his future weakness. His most trusty adherents alone accepting the ephemeral dignities which he had to offer, made way in the lower house for men of a different mould, whose opposition to the will of the protector became at last too bitter for endurance. Having in vain tried the effect both of flattery and menaces, Cromwell had recourse in the end to his old expedient; and violently dissolving the parliament, determined to govern thenceforth by virtue of his own prerogative.

From this period, up to the autumn of 1658, Cromwell passed his time, surrounded indeed by all the pomp and circumstances of high estate, but a prey to more than the common anxieties and troubles which accompany even usurped power. Alarmed day by day with rumours of meditated revolts, made aware even through the public press that his life was not safe from the blow of the assassin, and conscious as well that his friends were alienated from him, as that his very guards abhorred him, he was miserable when in society, lest every hand should be turned against him; and not less miserable in solitude, because he was there without support. To such a height, indeed, were his fears of personal violence raised, that he wore constantly beneath his clothes a suit of chain-armour, and carried pistols, daggers, and other weapons of offence, concealed about his person: yet was there one source of consolation left him amid so many troubles. His domestic life was a happy one, as far as the attachment of his wife and children could render it so; and it may be more than doubted whether the religious enthusiasm which once swayed him ever lost its power. It is at all events certain, that even while signing warrants of proscription and death, against multitudes of loyal men, for no other reason than that he suspected them of designs hostile to his government, he continued still to speak of himself as an instrument in the hands of God.

Such was the tenor of his existence, when Elizabeth, his favourite daughter, was seized with a lingering illness,

under which she gradually sank. Her condition deeply affected the protector, and he spent no inconsiderable portion of his time by her bed-side, vindicating to her many passages in his public career, and offering to her all the consolations of religion. His anxiety and grief operating upon a frame already shaken, and aided by the chill of his armour, which he wore next the skin, threw him into a fever; and gout and ague following, he became alarmingly ill. He, too, became unable to quit his bed; and the death of his daughter being somewhat unguardedly communicated to him, a violent paroxysm ensued: from that time his recovery was hopeless. It is true that neither he nor the fanatical preachers who surrounded him would give any credence to the opinions of the physicians. "Do not think that I will die," said he to his wife, when on one occasion she entered his apartment; "I am sure of the contrary:" and seeing that she looked sorrowfully in his face, he immediately added, "Say not that I have lost my reason. I tell you the truth: I know it from better authority than any which you can have from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God himself to our prayers, not to mine alone, but to those of others, who have a more intimate interest in him than I have. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sorrow from your looks, and deal with me as ye would with a serving man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things; yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and God is far more above nature."

In perfect accordance with the sentiments conveyed in this speech, was the tenour both of his own and of his chaplains' devotions. One of these, called Goodwin, addressed the Supreme Being thus: — "Lord, we do not ask thee for his life; of that we are assured; thou hast too many great things for this man to do for it to be possible thou shouldest remove him yet; but we pray for his speedy establishment and recovery." So also the protector himself, on the very night preceding his death, uttered the following petitions: — "Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would fain have me live;

they think it will be best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory; all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord, pardon them; and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins, and do not forsake them; but love and bless them, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ's sake." There is but one more anecdote relating to this, the last scene in Cromwell's drama, which we venture to give. Throughout life he had ever professed himself a high Calvinist; and, as a necessary consequence, a believer in the doctrine called the final perseverance of the saints. In a moment of more than usual depression, he begged of one of his chaplains to say, whether the doctrine were really sound; and whether he who had once been in a state of grace could ever fall back into reprobation. The divine assured him that no such event could occur. "Then," exclaimed he, "I am safe; for I am sure I was once in a state of grace."

In the midst of these ravings, and while his spiritual attendants predicted a speedy recovery, the hand of death fell heavily upon Cromwell. On the 3d of Sept. 1658, a day considered by himself as particularly fortunate, he gave up the ghost, having, in a voice scarcely audible, named his son Richard as his successor in the protectorial chair. But, as if nature herself had taken an interest in the fate of this extraordinary person, he breathed not his last as other men do. A furious tempest swept from one side of the island to the other. The largest trees in St. James's park were torn up by the roots; houses were unroofed or thrown down; and men, even of strong minds, seriously doubted, whether the strife of the elements were produced by ordinary causes. His adherents, of course, spoke of the occurrence as manifesting the interest taken by the Deity himself in the character and services of the deceased, while the royalists ascribed it to a dispute among the evil spirits which rule the air, as to which should enjoy the honour of conducting the usurper's soul to the place of punishment. These

speculations were, no doubt, equally absurd; yet was there less of impiety in them than in the conduct of his favourite chaplain, Stury, — "Dry up your tears," said he to the protector's relatives and attendants; "ye have more reason to rejoice than to weep. He was your protector here, he will prove a still more powerful protector now that he is with Christ at the right hand of the Father."

Cromwell's condition of body at his decease was not such as to permit his being laid out, as it is called, in state; but a waxen image, made to represent him, received all the honours usually bestowed upon royal clay. His funeral, likewise, was performed amid a greater display of pageantry, and at an expense far exceeding that lavished upon the obsequies of any monarch. "He was carried," says Evelyn, "from Somerset House on a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, harnessed with the same; the pall was held up by his new lords; Oliver lying in effigie in royall robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guerdons were carried by the officers of the army; the imperial banners, achievements, &c., by the heraulds in their coates; a rich-caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour armed *cap-à-pie;* and after all, his guards and souldiers, and innumerable mourners. In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster; but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw; for there was none that cried but dogs, which the souldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went."

The remains of Cromwell were deposited for a season in Henry VII.'s chapel, amid the dust of the kings of England, being enclosed in a superb coffin, which bore the following inscription: — "Oliverus Protector Republicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ; natus 25° Aprilis, anno 1599; inauguratus 16° Decembris, 1653; mortuus 3° Septembris, 1658, hic situs est." Of the contumelies afterwards offered to them we are not called upon to say

more, than that they have covered with disgrace those only by whom they were commanded and executed.

It has been our great object in the foregoing sketch to regard Oliver Cromwell in the single light of a distinguished military commander. In adhering to this design we have not unfrequently been compelled to suppress details full both of interest and instruction, and to impose serious restraints upon our own opinions touching the true end even of professional biography. The plan, however, which we had chalked out for ourselves arbitrarily requiring these sacrifices, they have without hesitation been made; nor in drawing up a general estimate of his character as a public man shall we permit ourselves to indulge in greater liberties. To some other pen will doubtless be intrusted the task of determining the niche which Cromwell must fill among the statesmen of England. Let it be our business to give, as far as some little knowledge of such matters will allow, a brief estimate of his qualifications as the leader of an army.

Oliver Cromwell belonged to that limited number of mortals, of whom it may with justice be said, that they come from the hands of nature ready-made soldiers. Bold, active, robust in frame, with nerves of the firmest texture, no dangers could affright, nor any accidents deprive him of self-command, while a thorough confidence in his own resources sufficed in every emergency to carry him through difficulties, under which a more modest man would have given way. The great quality, however, which distinguished him from almost every other general of his day, was his intimate acquaintance with human nature, and the consequent readiness with which he selected fitting instruments, and moulded them on all occasions to his own purposes. Of this, the mode which he adopted to fill up the ranks of his first regiment affords the most satisfactory proof; and his treatment of these very men after they were mixed up with others, and so formed a portion of a large body, amply confirms it. No man knew better than he where to draw the line between proper indulgence and its excess;

no man could better temper familiarity with respect, easy and kind treatment, with the most rigid discipline. The consequence was, that his soldiers, however stubborn with others, were to him pliant and tractable; not only because they reposed in his abilities the most absolute confidence, but because they personally loved and respected himself.

Undaunted bravery, however, the capability of more than common bodily exertions, and a presence of mind which is never to be taken by surprise, though each and all necessary ingredients, do not suffice, even when accompanied by a thorough knowledge of human nature, to complete the character of a great general. There must, in addition, be the power of rapid, and, at the same time, accurate calculation; a judgment clear, and profound; a foresight to imagine all probable difficulties, in order that they may be anticipated; and a moral courage which shall not pass over any, whether it be great or small. If, again, to these be added the principle of order by which masses of men are moved like the pieces on a chess-board, then is the structure of a great military mind complete. Such men were Hannibal, Cæsar, Marlborough, and, for a time at least, Napoleon Bonaparte; and such a man is the duke of Wellington; how far the like assertion may be hazarded with respect to Cromwell we entertain serious doubts.

Cromwell lived in an age when the art of war, properly so called, was very little understood; and, with one exception, he never measured himself against an officer either of talent or experience. His early career, therefore, though very brilliant, was that of an active partisan rather than of a general; while it was not till the year 1649 that he ever enjoyed the opportunity of commanding a large army in person. His first campaigns in the capacity of general in chief were in Ireland, where he certainly gained many and important advantages: yet when it is recollected that he fought against men disheartened, and at variance among themselves; that there was no army in the field to oppose him; and that the war was one of

sieges only, our admiration of his genius will necessarily degenerate into an admission that he was active, resolute, and ruthless. The terrible executions which he sanctioned in the first towns attacked intimidated the garrisons of other places; and hence the terror of his name did more towards securing their surrender than the skill of his dispositions, or the vigour of his assaults. In Ireland, therefore, we see only the indefatigable guerilla chief enlarged into the leader of a band of ferocious veterans, from whose cruelty the royalists were glad to take shelter, by abandoning the posts which they had been appointed to hold.

Of all the campaigns which Cromwell conducted, that against the Scots in 1650–1 deserves to be considered as the most regular and the most scientific. When he reached the border, instead of a raw army in his front, he beheld a scene of devastation and loneliness around him; for the people were driven from their houses; the corn and cattle were removed, and such measures adopted as would, even now, when the mode of maintaining a mountainous country is better understood, be approved. It would appear that Cromwell had not omitted from his calculations the possible occurrence of these events. A fleet of victuallers and store-ships moved along the coast, from which supplies might be derived; and trusting to these, he pushed boldly forward to the attack of the capital. It has been said that Cromwell was out-generalled here by Leslie. We have no wish to detract from the merits of that able officer, whose system of defence was exactly such as the circumstances of the case required. Trained in the Belgic school, he was not ignorant that raw levies, however individually brave, cannot, with any chance of success, be opposed to veterans on what is termed a fair field; he, therefore, selected a position naturally strong, entrenched it on every weak point, and having devastated the country in its front, waited patiently to be attacked. In all this, however, the single quality displayed was firmness; for there was no manœuvring on either side, as there was no occasion for it.

Cromwell, therefore, is as little to be accused of a deficiency in skill, because he failed to penetrate the lines in front of Edinburgh, as Massena deserves to be accounted a weak man, because the lines of Torres Vedras arrested his march into Lisbon.

Having exhausted every device to turn this position, Cromwell determined on a retreat; and here again he has been accused of improvidence, because he preferred the coast to the inland road. It is very true that the position at Dunbar was a perilous one; but let the perils attending the adoption of a different plan be considered. Whence was Cromwell, in the event of his falling back through the interior, to derive his supplies. There was no food in the country; he depended on his ships for every thing: had he suffered his communications with them to be interrupted, his destruction was inevitable. In a choice of difficulties, he accordingly selected that course which seemed to be the least encumbered with them: what man in his senses would act otherwise? Again, it is urged, that his retreat was disorderly; and that he ran himself into a snare, from which the flagrant mismanagement of his enemies could alone deliver him. To a certain extent there is truth in both assertions. His retreat was not conducted with all the steadiness which might have been exhibited; yet was it the reverse of disastrous: for as often as the Scots hazarded an attack, they were repulsed, with a loss more heavy than they inflicted.

In the description already given of the relative positions of the two armies at Dunbar, it will be seen, that the prospects of Cromwell must have been for a time exceedingly gloomy. Hemmed in between a range of hills and the sea, a more desponding general would have given up all for lost, yet Cromwell's confidence never forsook him. He calculated upon the possible occurrence of one of those lucky chances to the operations of which all military movements are liable, and the event demonstrated that he had not erred in so doing. Far be it from us to recommend his conduct here as worthy of

universal adoption; yet were it folly to talk of carrying on war in every situation by rule. War is a game of chance, the broad principles of which are alone matters for disquisition, its minuter details being much more frequently swayed by accident than by previous consideration. And it is by the promptitude with which he takes advantage of such accidents, more than by any other proceeding, that the great general is distinguished from the mere theorist. How Cromwell contrived to extricate himself from the toils, and to defeat the army which encircled him, we have already shown: we can now only repeat, that his doing so more than redeemed any errors which he may have previously committed.

We come now to his march westward, and its consequences. The plan of operations pursued by the king manifestly indicated, that of his communications with the more northern and western counties he was peculiarly jealous; and it became, of course, the object of Cromwell to dissever these. And here it was, that the greatest displays of generalship were exhibited on both sides. Leslie's position in the Tor-wood was admirably chosen. His movement to the right, by which he blocked up the road to Lanarkshire, was prompt and able; it may be questioned whether he displayed equal alacrity afterwards. His information being excellent he was not long left in ignorance that the English had detached largely into Fifeshire. Had he advanced upon the corps in his front, and forced it to give battle, the chances are, that he would have overthrown it. This, however, he neglected to do; either because his own genius was rather passive than active, or because his troops were not sufficiently manageable, and the consequence was, that Cromwell turned him with his whole army. It is true that the march of Cromwell upon Perth laid open the road to England; but on a southward movement, in such a crisis, no human being could have calculated. Nay, so little was that movement approved at the head-quarters of the royal army, that a threat of desertion by the English cavaliers alone induced Leslie to consent to it.

There is, therefore, no blame justly attributable to Cromwell, as if he had left England exposed to invasion; because the invasion itself was a rash and a desperate step, which men disposed to cast all upon the hazard of a die would alone have taken.

Respecting the dispositions made, so soon as the truth became known, for a rapid and effective pursuit, only one opinion can be formed. They were all of them excellent; whether we look to the prompt detaching of the cavalry by the great north road, to the calling out of the militias, or to the close and tenacious chase undertaken by Cromwell himself. It may be that the king loitered a little by the way; and it is certain that, having determined to risk all upon a single manœuvre, he ought to have pushed it to the extreme; yet the very slackness of his friends to join, which caused these delays, bears the best testimony to the prudence with which Cromwell had taken his measures. Finally, the battle of Worcester, though undertaken with very superior numbers, might of itself suffice to place Cromwell high upon the list of military commanders. To pass even one deep river in the face of an enemy is not an easy matter: Cromwell passed two, and the royalists were totally destroyed.

Were we to set up a comparison between Oliver Cromwell and any of the renowned generals of modern times, we should do flagrant injustice to both parties. A man can be fairly estimated only when brought into contrast with those who were his personal rivals in the art which they severally practised, because in all arts, and in the art of war more, perhaps, than in others, such changes occur from age to age, that between those who were accounted masters in each few points of resemblance are to be found. There may be great activity displayed by both great foresight and prudence; yet the instruments which they respectively wielded are in their nature so dissimilar, that you cannot place the artists themselves in legitimate contrariety. No man would think of comparing the ship-builder of Charles I.'s time with the ship-builder of the 19th century; and as little may the mili-

tary leader in the civil wars be contrasted with the late emperor of the French, or the duke of Wellington. But if we confine our attention to the times in which he lived, — if we compare Cromwell with prince Rupert, with Charles himself, with Massey, and even with Leslie, —it will be found that he far excelled them all in every point necessary to the formation of a great military character. He was not less brave than the bravest of them; he fell short of none in activity; he was more vigilant than any; calculated more justly; and, above all, surpassed them in an extraordinary degree in his powers of reading the workings of men's passions. Yet we do not hesitate to avow our persuasions that nature, though she gave to him all the qualifications required to produce a *soldier*, intended Cromwell for a politician or a statesman, rather than for a *general.*

Cromwell's personal appearance is so well known, that we shall not waste much time in describing it. To a figure which conveyed the idea rather of strength than of symmetry, he united a countenance full indeed of expression, but exhibiting none of the lines of beauty. His nose, uncommonly large and red, became the subject of much low wit among his adversaries; and his weather-beaten and sallow complexion has been commemorated in more than one ribald epigram. His manners, again, varied according to the society into which he chanced to be thrown, and the circumstances which surrounded him. Among his soldiers he was generally familiar and easy, seizing the men by their buttons, and, like Napoleon, indicating his good humour by a slight tap on the ear; yet could he draw himself up in a moment, and even assume an air of excessive haughtiness. In like manner, it was with him no unusual practice to intermingle, in the most extraordinary degree, levity with seriousness. In the midst of the grave discussions of his council he would suddenly play off some practical joke; either pulling off the wigs of such as sat next him, or throwing a cushion at their heads. One or two instances of such conduct have been given in the course of this narrative;

and there are many besides which rest on evidence not less satisfactory.

We abstain from noticing the ability with which Cromwell wielded the army, for the purpose first of securing, and afterwards of preserving, his own civil greatness. The consideration of that point in his character lies beyond our present province, as does the review of his general policy, both foreign and domestic. Nevertheless, he who examines these subjects will find in them strong corroborative proofs, that the mind of the protector was more that of a politician than of a warrior. It is, indeed, true, that no man can attain to the high renown of a general of the first order unless he be at the same time largely endowed with those qualities which are supposed to belong exclusively to the statesman, because the guidance of an army, and especially of an English army, requires much more than an intimate acquaintance with strategy. But as we have already hinted, it is with us a matter of considerable doubt, whether Cromwell can be classed in the very first rank of military commanders; and it is of men belonging to that rank, and to that rank alone, that we would be understood as asserting that they have been found ever to unite the sagacity of the politician with the skill of the general.

Cromwell's wife survived him, as did five of his children, two sons, and three daughters. His dying wish was immediately carried into effect, and Richard, the elder of his sons, held for a brief space, and with a feeble hand, the reins of government.

JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

It is said by general Foy, in his history of the Peninsular war, that the condition of the British soldier never retrogrades; but that, retaining all the good qualities which his predecessors had acquired, he superadds to these, from generation to generation, whatever of improvement each may have happened to produce. The history of the British army, from its establishment as a recognised body under Cromwell, down to the present times, fully bears out the assertion of the French writer; but, perhaps, at no period was the great truth more fully illustrated than in the age immediately succeeding that of the protector. At Cromwell's decease, the ranks of almost all the regiments in the service were filled by practised veterans,—by men inured to war, and confident alike in themselves and in their leaders. These were gradually weeded out after the restoration; yet were the raw levies brought in to supply their places far from exhibiting any falling off in the qualities which gave a professional character to the victors of Marsden Moor and Worcester field. There was the same steadiness under arms, the same indomitable intrepidity, the same moral courage, which, though exhibiting itself under a different aspect, was not less influential in the soldier of the king, than in the guardian of the commonwealth. It is true, that the reigns of Charles and James

afforded little opportunity for the display of great military skill in their generals; yet that even in this particular there was no real deficiency, it needed but the lapse of a few years to demonstrate.

The man who raised the glory of the British arms to a height never till now surpassed, lived under both the princes of the restored line, though the field of action was not prepared for him till after the accession of the prince of Orange.

John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, was born at Ashe, in Devonshire, on the 24th of June, 1650. He was the second son of sir Winston Churchill, a gentleman of good family, and high tory principles, whose zeal in the cause of royalty was displayed both by personal exertions in the field, and the ruin of his fortunes under the usurpation of the commonwealth. His mother's name was Elizabeth Drake. She was the daughter of sir John Drake, the proprietor of the mansion in which the subject of this memoir was born; sir John Drake being connected not remotely with the noble houses of Boteler, Leigh, and Villiers.

It has been generally asserted, and not less generally believed, that the education of the duke of Marlborough was grossly neglected. His early entrance on the stage of active life, as well as the peculiar style and orthography observable in his correspondence, furnish strong ground for asserting that the opinion is correct; yet his father's taste for literature would induce a persuasion, that the circumstance originated not in carelessness, but in necessity. The truth, indeed, appears to be, that sir Winston Churchill, like many other cavaliers, found his loyalty of small avail towards the re-establishment of pecuniary affairs, which an excess of the same principle had embarrassed. Though gratified by an especial grant of an augmentation to his arms, and advanced to the honour of knighthood, he obtained from the restored monarch little besides the favour of a personal regard, and the temporary enjoyment of certain

offices, from which a slender revenue accrued.* The consequence was, that he found himself in no condition to incur heavy expense in the education of his children; for whom, on the contrary, he was glad to accept the protection of such patrons as appeared willing to provide for them. Hence his son John, who received the first rudiments of knowledge from a worthy clergyman in the neighbourhood of Ashe, was, after a brief sojourn in St. Paul's School, sent to court, where, at the green age of twelve years, he was appointed page of honour to James duke of York.

There are a variety of rumours extant touching the more immediate causes of the favour in which the young page was undeniably held by his master; of these, one, to which the spirit of party has given a wide circulation, assigns the fact to the personal charms of his sister Arabella, at that time lady of the bedchamber to the duchess. It is by no means impossible that there may be some truth in the insinuation; for Arabella Churchill became, in the end, the avowed mistress of the duke, to whom she bore two sons and two daughters†: but the personal qualities of her brother seem to have been such as to secure for him, without other aid, the good will of his patron. Endowed by nature with a face and figure of surpassing beauty and elegance, his manners were as pleasing as his disposition appeared frank and open; whilst his high courage, and enthusiastic love of every thing connected with the military profession, were not lightly esteemed by a man of James's peculiar temperament. We are informed by his earliest biographer, that

* Sir Winston Churchill was, indeed, restored to the enjoyment of his paternal property, but found the lands so encumbered with debts and mortgages as to produce a very slender revenue. He acted as one of the commissioners of the Court of Claims in Ireland in 1664, and was, on his return, constituted a clerk controller of the Board of Green Cloth. The publication of his "Divi Britannici," however,—a sort of historical essay, inculcative of the highest monarchical tenets,—raised against him a host of enemies, whom it was found expedient to gratify by his dismissal. He died in 1688, exceedingly poor, though honoured to the last with the friendship of his royal master.

† These were James Fitzjames, afterwards the illustrious duke of Berwick; Henry Fitzjames, who died lieutenant-general and admiral in the French service; Henrietta, who married sir Henry Waldegrave of Churton; and her sister, who died a nun.

the royal duke was in the frequent habit of reviewing the two regiments of Foot Guards, and that young Churchill, who never failed to attend at such musters, exhibited both a lively interest in the scene, and an extraordinary degree of intuitive knowledge respecting the movements of troops. This speedily attracted the notice of James, who on a certain occasion desired him to make choice of a profession. Churchill throwing himself on his knees, entreated that he might be appointed to an ensigncy in one of the fine regiments which had just gone through its evolutions, and the request being graciously received, he was soon afterwards presented with the commission which he so much coveted.*

Though the event just described befell in 1666, soon after the conclusion of peace, our young soldier was not left long without an opportunity of displaying his fitness for the office to which he had been advanced. Tangier, then a dependency on the British crown, was closely invested by the Moors; and Churchill, full of military ardour, volunteered to assist in its defence. His wish was complied with, and he hastened to the scene of action, where he displayed on various occasions a degree of courage and intelligence which drew upon him the notice of all ranks, and excited high expectations of his future career. He remained with the garrison throughout the siege, and returned to England only when his services in the field were no longer required.

From this period up to the spring of 1672, Mr. Churchill resided entirely at court, where fresh favours were continually heaped upon him both by the duke and the king. But a life of inactivity was far from according either with his talents or his habits. No sooner, therefore, was it resolved to support Louis in his attack upon Holland, than he solicited and obtained permission to accompany the contingent of 6000 men which under command of the duke of Monmouth quitted England

* A different account is given by Lediard, who more than insinuates, that, young as the page was (he was then barely sixteen), the duke found it necessary to remove him from his family, where he had found too much favour in the eyes of the duchess. This story is rendered highly improbable by the whole of the after history both of the duchess and Churchill.

for that purpose. His zeal was rewarded by immediate promotion to the rank of captain of grenadiers in Monmouth's own regiment, and his services in the field were not slow in procuring for him still further advancement.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that the war was conducted for a time, on the part of France, with extraordinary vigour and address. One hundred thousand men, led on by Louis in person, and directed in every movement by Turenne, carried, in rapid succession, the fortresses of Orsoi, Burick, Wesel, and Rhinberg. They next passed the Rhine near Schenck, in the face of the enemy; compelled Arnheim, Naerden, Utrecht, Deventer, Zutphen, and Nimeguen to submit, and over-ran, in the space of a few months, three of the Seven Provinces, establishing their outposts in the vicinity of Amsterdam. Throughout the whole of these operations, captain Churchill seized every opportunity of bringing himself conspicuously into notice; but it was at the siege of Nimeguen that he first drew towards himself the eyes of his illustrious commander. Having repeatedly volunteered to execute services requiring more than common coolness and decision, he was at length selected by Turenne to recover a post from which a French lieutenant-colonel had been driven. "I will wager a supper and a dozen of claret," said the marshal, "that my handsome Englishman" (for so captain Churchill was called) "will, with half the number of men, retake the ground which has just been lost." The wager was accepted; Churchill advanced to the attack, and not only regained, but kept possession of the post, amid the plaudits of the whole army.

The next operation which furnished to captain Churchill the means of gathering fresh laurels, was the siege and assault of Maestricht. Having accompanied the storming party, of which the duke of Monmouth had the command, he was the first to plant the allied standard on the rampart; and he was one of twelve, who, on the springing of a mine, maintained themselves in the demilune till supported. His gallantry on this

occasion was indeed so conspicuous, that he publicly received the thanks of the French monarch; while by his own sovereign, to whom Monmouth recommended him as the preserver of his life, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Nor were his merits passed over by Louis with the recompence of empty praise; for, on the 3d of April, 1674, he was appointed to succeed the earl of Peterborough as colonel of the English regiment. In this capacity he served during the German campaign, where he witnessed the victory of Sinzheim, and the devastation of the Palatinate, and he appears not to have entirely quitted the theatre of war till the final settlement in 1677.*

It was customary, at the period of which we are now speaking, as often as the troops retired into winter quarters, for the officers, especially those holding the highest rank, to visit their friends and relatives, however far removed from the seat of war. The practice holding on one side as well as the other, a species of implied truce became established, and men quitted their posts with easy minds, because aware that a like course was pursued by their enemies. Colonel Churchill was not less alert in availing himself of this customary privilege, than the generals under whom he served. He repeatedly visited London during the progress of the war; where, on each occasion, he was received with increasing kindness,—not only the king and the duke, but every person about the court, appearing anxious to acknowledge the merits of so distinguished a soldier. No reader of history can be ignorant that the court of Charles II. was, with the single exception of that of Louis XIV., at once the most highly polished and the most profligate in Europe. It has been remarked of colonel Churchill, that both his address and appearance were such as to render him conspicuous as a gentleman even there; while in point of licentiousness, if he escaped

* The reader is doubtless aware, that, notwithstanding the supineness with which he conducted the war elsewhere, Charles never withdrew his contingent from Louis's army; and Churchill, at his own desire, continued to serve along with it.

not entirely the general contagion, nothing capable of seriously affecting his character, as a man of honour or of prudence, can fairly be laid to his charge. The unsparing authoress of the New Atalantis has, indeed, accused him of numerous crimes, among which base ingratitude to the duchess of Cleveland stands conspicuous; but the authority of Mrs. Manley is not such as to weigh heavily in the scale against the testimony of multitudes who knew him intimately, and valued him as he deserved. That the duchess of Cleveland may have ranked him among her favourites, is by no means improbable. A woman so profligate was little likely to look with indifference upon a young man possessed of Churchill's merits and reputation; but that he was ever bound to her by ties more enduring than those of a passing intrigue, there is no ground whatever for believing.

We are the more strengthened in this persuasion, by the recollection that, at the very moment when he is accused of acting thus unfairly by the duchess, he was enamoured of a young lady possessed of the strongest attractions, both personal and mental. Sarah Jennings, the younger daughter of Richard Jennings, esq. of Sandridge, near St. Alban's, had been introduced into the court of the duchess of York at twelve years of age. She grew up on terms of intimate friendship with the princess Anne, afterwards queen of England, and maintained, amid a circle of unprincipled courtiers, a reputation unsullied even by the breath of scandal. For this young lady, whose genius was not less brilliant than her beauty, colonel Churchill, soon after she completed her sixteenth year, conceived a violent attachment; and the feeling being mutual, it continued, in despite of a variety of obstacles*, to animate both with the purest sentiments.

* The chief obstacle to their union was the absence of an adequate fortune; for though colonel Churchill's elder brother had died, his father's circumstances were too much embarrassed to render the event, in a pecuniary point of view, advantageous. When they did marry, they were forced to subsist upon his military pay, and an annuity of 500*l* a year, which he had purchased from lord Halifax. Miss Jennings's dowry was, indeed, princely in the end; but this was owing to the unexpected death of her brother without issue.

As they were married, moreover, so early as 1678, there appears but slender ground for accusing the colonel of gross profligacy previous to that event, while of his subsequent devotion to this the single object of his affections, we have too many proofs extant to entertain a doubt on the subject.

The young couple, instead of forming an establishment of their own, resided for several years after their marriage, as they had previously done, in the household of their royal patrons. They were compelled, likewise, to endure the misery of frequent separations; for colonel Churchill was employed in diplomatic missions abroad, while his lady's duties required that she should continue in England. Of these the earliest, and perhaps the most important, as that which brought him first into contact with William, prince of Orange, occurred in the year 1678. It was then that Charles, irritated by the refusal of Louis to increase his pension, appeared for a time well disposed to renew the triple alliance; and it was in consequence of this dispute that Churchill, now promoted to the rank of colonel of a regiment of foot, was despatched to Brussels for the purpose of concerting measures with the prince. It is not necessary to describe in detail either the circumstances which attended this mission, or the events which arose out of it. Let it suffice to state, that it was followed by the embassy of sir William Temple, and the conclusion of an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the United Provinces; that a body of troops were embarked to reinforce the Dutch and Spanish armies; that with the last division of the corps allotted to this service colonel Churchill put to sea; but that the whole arrangement came to nothing. Before Churchill could reach his point of destination, a treaty of peace was signed; and the English troops being recalled, the colonel hastened back, to rejoin the society in which his best affections were centred.

It accords not with the plan of this work to attempt any account of the cabals and intrigues, political and

religious, which gave a character to the concluding years of the reign of Charles II. The suspected conversion of James to the Romish faith; the death of his first wife in communion with the Romish church; and his subsequent marriage to the princess Maria d'Este, sister to the reigning duke of Modena, had already excited, in no ordinary degree, the fears of the nation. These received additional strength from the measures adopted by Charles to ensure to all classes of his subjects an absolute toleration; whilst the avowed abandonment by James of the protestant religion, which soon afterwards followed, brought the spirit of party to its height. Measures were forthwith adopted, on one side, to exclude the popish prince from the throne: these were met by opposite measures, which had for their tendency the preservation of the right of succession, though hampered by a great limitation of authority; whilst all parties were, in their turn, content to appeal, not only to the worst passions of the populace, but to foreign powers. Then came rumours of plots, which were the more greedily received in proportion as they exceeded the bounds of credibility, till the whole nation may be said to have become one grand arena for a trial of strength between opposing factions.

In spite both of the situation which he held about the person of the duke of York, and his intimate connection with most of the leading men opposed to his master, colonel Churchill abstained from taking any part in these intrigues. It has even been asserted of him, that he declined a seat in the house of commons, from "a consciousness that the frankness of his temper would involve him in political broils;" and his conduct in so doing has received the commendation of almost all his biographers, who see in it marks of extraordinary prudence alone. There cannot be a doubt that the entire course of this great man's public life exhibits a degree of selfish caution, such as has rarely been paralleled; but we are not sure that his backwardness to join in the struggle now pending furnishes just ground of admir-

ation or praise. If it be true that "he considered the conduct of the party in opposition as equally unjust, disrespectful, and unconstitutional," the court had a right to look for something more than neutrality at his hands; whilst he who could assert, in a private letter to a friend, that "though he had an aversion to popery, yet he was no less averse to persecution for conscience' sake," and that "he deemed it the highest act of injustice to set any one aside from his inheritance upon bare supposition of intentional evils," deserves little credit for holding back from a public declaration of the same sentiments. Be this, however, as it may, colonel Churchill withdrew not from attendance on the duke, even during the most alarming period of the struggle. He was not only the agent through whom most of the confidential negotiations between the courts of England and France were conducted; but when James, at his brother's suggestion, retired, in 1679, into Holland, colonel Churchill did not forsake him.*

From this period up to the year 1681, few events befell calculated seriously to affect the fortunes or prospects of our hero. When James was suddenly recalled by the illness of his brother, Churchill, as in duty bound, attended him; and he returned again with his master, on the king's recovery, to their asylum in the Low Countries. In like manner, when permission was granted that James should fix his residence in Scotland, Churchill, though he left his wife in London, removed to Edinburgh. Here his popular manners, not less than his reputed influence at court, gained for him many friends and flatterers; and here his zeal in the cause which he as yet professed to maintain was frequently shown. Thus we find him, in 1680, while James was again endeavouring to establish himself in London, seeking by a variety of means to forward the measure; and, when every effort failed,

* It was not on this occasion, as it had been on others, that he was condemned to go alone; for the duchess accompanied her royal consort. The temporary exile of Churchill was thus enlivened by the society of his young and accomplished wife.

returning once more, with his wife and the duchess, to Edinburgh.

During the session of 1680, the state of parties ran so high as to threaten a repetition of those scenes of anarchy and misrule which had paved the way to the grand rebellion. The exclusion bill, though carried in the house of commons, was rejected in the house of lords. The commons, enraged at the defeat, brought forward bills and passed resolutions still more alarming, till Charles, roused into exertion of which he was believed to be incapable, suddenly dissolved the parliament. Still the king's necessities were great; for his revenues were forestalled on every hand, and his stubborn commons had refused to vote him any supplies. It appeared, therefore, exceedingly improbable that he could carry on the government without summoning another. Now there was no measure which threatened so materially as this to injure the cause of James. He knew perfectly well that the spirit of opposition in the country, so far from being allayed, was increased by the recent act of his brother, and he looked forward with intense alarm to the measures which the new house of commons were likely to originate. He accordingly determined to exert all his influence for the purpose of avoiding so serious a calamity, and Churchill was again employed as a fit agent in the management of affairs so delicate.

In the month of January, 1681, colonel Churchill set out for London. His first and most important business was to dissuade the king from assembling a new parliament; his second, to hinder such an alliance from being formed with Spain and Holland as must necessarily draw on a war with France. This, again, was followed up by a strong recommendation to unite the fortunes of France and England together; whilst the last, and not the least urgent, petition of the whole pressed upon the king, that he would either sanction the return of the duke to London, or invest him with the chief command of the forces in Scotland. So sensible

was James of the extreme delicacy of this commission, that he enjoined his favourite to keep the matter concealed even from lord Halifax himself; yet the negotiation led to no result. The king saw too many dangers in the way to follow the daring counsels of his brother; and hence all that Churchill found it practicable to effect was to bring back to the duke a true account of the state of parties, and to prevail upon him to continue for some time longer his sojourn in the north.

Soon after his return from this mission, colonel Churchill's lady was delivered of her first-born child, a daughter, whom the parents named Henrietta. The event appears to have afforded to colonel Churchill sincere delight; but the times were too pregnant with important events to leave to a man of his genius and ambition much leisure for the indulgence of domestic feelings. He was repeatedly engaged in the conduct of state affairs, in the interval between January, 1671, and the triumphant return of the duke of York in 1672. When the latter occurrence took place, colonel Churchill, as a matter of course, accompanied his master; and he was one of the fortunate few who escaped from the wreck of the Gloucester frigate, when she perished with upwards of 120 of her crew on board. The circumstances attending this calamity are these: —

James, having obtained the king's permission to settle once more in the metropolis, embarked, with a numerous attendance of his personal friends, for the purpose of bringing up by sea the duchess and the rest of his family. It so happened that the Gloucester ran aground upon the sand-bank called the Lemon and Ore in Yarmouth roads, and the wind being high and the night dark, great confusion ensued. In the midst of the tumult, the duke, who had gone to sleep, was awakened, and took his place in the long boat, into which crowds of men were indiscriminately rushing. To prevent all hazard to the duke's person, two gentlemen stationed themselves, the one in the boat the other in the gangway, with drawn swords, by which means

the boat was kept comparatively light, and its precious burthen conveyed safely to land. He who thus guarded the person of James in the boat was colonel Churchill; his fellow warden was sir John Berry, who, as soon as he saw the barge push off, threw himself into the sea, and, being an excellent swimmer, easily reached the shore.*

Whatever James's faults might be, ingratitude to one who had served him so long and so faithfully was not numbered among them. On the 1st of December, 1682, Mr. Churchill was raised to the Irish peerage, by the title of baron Churchill, of Aymouth, in Scotland; and on the 19th of November in the following year, he was appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horse-guards, then about to be embodied. It was his anxious wish at this period to withdraw his lady entirely from attendance on the court, but an occurrence took place which frustrated the resolution. The princess Anne, with whom lady Churchill had continued in terms of the most intimate familiarity, married prince George, brother of the king of Denmark; and lady Churchill being solicited to accept the office of lady of the bedchamber, neither duty nor inclination would permit her to refuse. The friendship which had long subsisted between the ladies was thus continued and strengthened; and their correspondence, of which numerous selections have been published, affords ample proof that it was for a time one of the most unaffected and romantic in all history.†

Throughout the interval which elapsed between the marriage of the princess Anne and the accession of James II., the part taken by lord Churchill in public affairs was very trifling; but a wider field of exertion

* It was falsely asserted by the party writers of the day, that the duke of York, while he refused admission into his boat to many persons of rank, took care to save the lives of his priests, and even of his dogs. James was certainly a bigot, and in many respects a weak and absurd man; but such a calumny as this could be credited only by bigots as blind as himself. The truth is, that the boat was loaded to the gunwale, and that the common sailors, when they knew that the duke was safe, shouted with joy as she pushed off

† They soon ceased to address each other as your highness and my lady; for the princess assuming the style of Mrs Morley, wrote fully and openly to her friend under the appellation of Mrs Freeman.

presented itself by the event just recorded. In March, 1685, we find him specially appointed to communicate to Louis the death of Charles II., on which occasion he seems to have acquitted himself to the satisfaction both of the French monarch and of his own master. On the 23d of April he assisted in the coronation of the new king; and on the 14th of May was advanced to an English peerage, as baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford. But the most important service which he found an opportunity to perform occurred during the attempt of the duke of Monmouth to ascend the throne. Being invested with the command of a detached corps, he not only harassed the rebels by frequent attacks, but cut off their supplies, and reduced them to the necessity of risking all in a general action, in which his personal activity and vigilance saved the royal army from defeat, and lord Feversham, its commander, from the disgrace of a surprise. He was rewarded for his exertions by the thanks of his sovereign, and the colonelcy of the third troop of horse-guards.

From the termination of this rebellion till the concluding years of James's reign, lord Churchill seems to have taken little part in the management of public affairs. To what his retirement from official business was owing, has never been satisfactorily explained. By one party it is affirmed, that, perceiving the bias of his master's disposition, and being sincerely attached to the reformed religion, he withdrew himself from public life, as a matter both of duty and feeling; by another, no hesitation is exhibited in asserting, that the sharp-sighted courtier beheld the turn which matters were about to take, and hence that he studiously avoided mixing up his own fortunes with those of either faction. Let the truth rest where it may, no fact can be more accurately ascertained, than that Churchill, so soon as the king had excited a general feeling against his government, was one of the first to make a tender of his services to the prince of Orange. If it be a hard matter to form a correct judgment as to the motives which govern our

own contemporaries, it is still more difficult to pass sentence upon such as acted public parts in an age prior to our own. Far it be from us, therefore, to insinuate that lord Churchill was not swayed by the purest principles; that he was not, what his friends represent him to have been, one "who preferred the service of his sovereign to all things except the service of his God." Yet it does seem strange that one who owed every thing to James, who had repeatedly declared his abhorrence of the doctrine of exclusion, and had conducted so many negotiations with the French court for the purpose of preventing it, should all at once discover a thousand dangers in the very line of policy which he had laboured with so much secrecy and assiduity to advance. Be this, however, as it may, we are informed that lord Churchill no sooner surmised the object towards the attainment of which James's policy tended, than he assured lord Galway of his determination to desert his master; and that, on the first favourable opportunity, he entered into correspondence with the well-known aspirant to the throne. His letter to the prince of Orange, bearing date August 4. 1688, is one of the most curious documents in history, and as such we subjoin it.

"Sir, "August 4. 1688.

"Mr. Sidney will let you know how I intend to behave myself; I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put into your highness's hands, in which I think it is safe. If you think there is any thing else that I ought to do, you have but to command me: I shall pay an entire obedience to it, being resolved to die in that religion that it has pleased God to give you both the will and power to protect."

Let it be borne in mind, that the writer of this letter, though not filling any conspicuous place in the administration of the government, enjoyed, at the very moment when it was penned, the fullest confidence of his patron

and king. As such, it is fair to conclude that not a few of the court secrets were in his possession; indeed, the promptitude with which he was put in command of a division of the force sent down to oppose William after his landing, proves that he had taken care to exhibit no falling away of loyalty or affection in his general manner. A line of conduct so contradictory and subtle may be reconciled to men's ordinary notions of honour and integrity; but this is not the worst feature in the political character of Marlborough. That James obstinately shut his eyes to the dangers by which he was surrounded, no better proof can be given than is furnished by his refusal, in spite of lord Feversham's urgent entreaty, to arrest Churchill as a traitor; and the consequence was, that Churchill, followed by several officers of the highest rank, made good the desertion which they had long meditated. General Bourmont has been vilified for his abandonment of Napoleon's cause on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, yet Bourmont's behaviour was praiseworthy in the highest degree when compared with that of lord Churchill at Salisbury.

It would have been extraordinary had not an act of treachery in itself so palpable been rendered even more gross than it was by the injured party. Numberless tales were circulated touching a design to assassinate the king, which, however they might be credited at the moment, are now justly regarded as groundless; yet the letter which Churchill left behind, as exculpatory of his proceeding, is not, we must confess, quite satisfactory to our minds. Entertaining as we do the most profound respect for abstract principle, we cannot discover how any man can reconcile to himself, first, the acceptance of a responsible command under an authority which he abhors, and next the betrayal of his trust; at least we have seen nothing, either in lord Churchill's epistle, or in any other document of the same kind, to convince us that the writer stands free from the charge of double treason. For to this, and to nothing short of this, Churchill's proceedings amounted. After assuring the prince

of Orange that "his highness had but to command, and he would pay entire obedience," he accepted the command of 5000 men, who were embodied for the express purpose of disputing with the same prince of Orange the road to London; and he embraced the first opportunity of abandoning his charge, and passing over, with as many as his influence could corrupt, to the enemy's lines.

Our admiration of the genius of the duke of Marlborough is too great to permit our dwelling upon this the blackest page in his eventful history. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with stating, that prince George of Denmark, following the example of his friend, turned his back upon his father-in-law; that the princess Anne, attended of course by lady Churchill, fled, first to the house of the bishop of London, and afterwards to the prince's camp, and that James, overcome by the contemplation of so many and such unlooked-for acts of treachery, burst into tears. "God help me!" cried he, in the extremity of his agony; "my own children have forsaken me!" It is scarcely to be wondered at, if, with such spectacles before him, the unhappy monarch lost all hope, and, listening to the advice of interested and short-sighted counsellors, quitted the kingdom.

Churchill, who had advanced rapidly upon London, for the purpose of gathering round him his own corps, exhibited no disinclination to take his seat in the convention parliament. To his honour be it recorded, however, that he was one of those who at first stood out against a change of dynasty. The utmost for which he voted was a regency. Nevertheless, when the tide of party gained strength, he saw good reason for refusing his voice to such as would have excluded William and Mary from the throne. Like many other half Jacobites, he absented himself from the house on the day when the eventful question was agitated, and thus negatively sanctioned a measure which he professed positively to

condemn. To sum up all, he took office as a privy counsellor and lord of the bed-chamber under king William, and was created, two days prior to the coronation, earl of Marlborough.

About this period died sir Winston Churchill, the eccentric, but high-principled, father of lord Marlborough. His eldest son being long ago deceased, John, earl of Marlborough, was now his heir; yet the old cavalier — by what motive instigated we pretend not to determine — left his estate, such as it was, to his youngest son Charles. The consequence was, that lord Marlborough fixed his principal residence at Sandridge, of which a moiety had come to him in right of his wife, and of which, as the countess chanced to be extremely partial to it, he purchased the fee simple. He built upon it a mansion, to which he gave the name of Holywell, and which is described, by the local writers of the day, as a structure of great magnificence and elegance.

For some time after the revolution, Marlborough abstained from taking any other share in public business than by assisting largely in procuring for the princess Anne her separate establishment of 50,000*l.* a year. His conduct in this transaction served by no means to conciliate the favour of his new master Yet his talents were of an order not to be left unemployed; and hence we find him sent abroad, in the summer of 1689, to command the English forces employed against the French in Holland. As he acted under the orders of the prince of Waldeck, Marlborough found but one opportunity of turning his consummate military knowledge to account. Of that, however, he readily availed himself; and commanding at the post of Walcourt, he held it in defiance of a great superiority of numbers, not more to the dismay of his enemies than the astonishment of his general. He received for his gallantry and skill the warmest thanks of the prince*, and was

* It was on this occasion that the prince of Waldeck said of him, that he had in one battle exhibited a greater proficiency in his art, than many generals in a series of campaigns.

honoured by a letter of strong commendation from William himself.

We have not hesitated to speak openly of Marlborough's treachery to king James ; it is a matter of great satisfaction that we are enabled to place in opposition to such conduct one striking instance of good feeling and good sense. When William proceeded to Ireland, to contend there for the crown which he had seized, Marlborough refused to accompany him, on the ground that he could not in honour draw his sword against his former master and the benefactor of his youth. Though far from oppressed with an excess of feeling, William admitted the excuse ; and hence Marlborough was in no way accessary to the defeat of the Boyne. But James had no sooner returned to France than he freely offered his services ; and while William found it necessary to proceed in person to the continent, Marlborough took the command of the troops employed in Ireland. He rendered in this capacity important service to the cause. Besides reducing the strong holds of Cork and Kinsale, he checked numerous incursions of the insurgents, and contrived, as much by the mildness and equity of his proceedings in the cabinet, as by his conduct in the field, to introduce order into the provinces. These victories, both military and civil, were all obtained in the short space of a few months ; for we find him early in the spring of 1690 again in London, and occupied in business of a very different nature.

William the Third had not long occupied the British throne, ere the feeling of enthusiasm with which his arrival had been hailed began to subside. Cold and forbidding in his outward deportment, as well as avaricious and selfish in his disposition, he soon lost the esteem of a people who are, perhaps, not less susceptible of first impressions than any that have ever existed ; whilst his undisguised partiality towards his Dutch followers gradually converted alienation into disgust. The strong desire, likewise, expressed by him to throw open

all places to dissenters, gave as much umbrage to the tories as James's countenance of popery had given offence to the whigs; and the indifference with which he squandered English treasure in the furtherance of plans no way conducive to English prosperity, produced discontent in every circle. Men began to doubt whether the expulsion of the old dynasty was likely to prove, in the end, beneficial to the country. Doubts, in most instances, were followed by the conviction that a great error had been committed; and many an eye, which had witnessed with delight the departure of James, was now turned with anxiety to St. Germain's. The staunch friends of the exiled family were not slow in availing themselves of the opportunity thus afforded. Negotiations were secretly opened with numerous influential houses relative to the recal of James, and a counter-revolution appeared to be on the eve of its accomplishment.

It is one of the most extraordinary facts in history, that the earl of Marlborough, who had taken a part so active in the expulsion of James, should have been among the first to enter with his deposed king into a clandestine correspondence. That he was influenced in his conduct by any sense of honest compunction, we are not prepared to say. On the contrary, the whole tenour of his letters goes far to prove, that now, as formerly, a regard to self, and to self alone, chiefly swayed him; for while we find him anxiously securing his own pardon in the event of the king's return, and dealing largely in general professions of devotion and loyalty, he is uniformly seen to start off so soon as some definite proposition is advanced, having a tendency to lead to the accomplishment of the proposed design. Thus, when it was urged upon him that he could not do the cause more important service than by bringing over the English troops then in Flanders, "he excused himself under pretence that there was some mistake in the message; that it would ruin all, to make the troops

come over in parcels; that his business was to gain an absolute power over them, and then to do the business all at once."* "So that," to use the words of our author, "they (Marlborough and Godolphin) were to be pardoned and in security in case the king returned, and yet to suffer nothing in the interim, nor to give any other proofs of their sincerity than vain words and empty promises, which, under pretence of being suspected, or doing greater service afterwards, there was never found a suitable time to put the least of them in execution." It must be confessed, that conduct such as this furnishes the enemies of Marlborough's reputation with too much ground of censure, and leads almost unavoidably to the conclusion, that he who had betrayed one master in his hour of greatest need, was ready, should circumstances require it, to betray another.

The correspondence with James, though frequent and protracted, was carried on with so much caution, that it escaped either the notice or the regard of William. That prince, passing over to the continent in the spring of 1691, carried Marlborough along with him, and sent him to arrange the plan of the campaign, while he himself repaired to Holland, in order to attend the congress of the Hague. It was now that Marlborough exhibited, in a more striking light than ever, that acuteness of perception and readiness of calculation which form prominent features in the character of a great commander. Having received information that two magazines were formed, one of fire-wood, the other of dry forage, on a particular line of road, he pronounced that Mons, the barrier of Flanders, would be attacked, and entreated the deputies of the states-general to look to its defence. The deputies derided the warning; pronounced the siege of Mons at that season impracticable; and persisted in opinion that the enemy's designs were against Charleroi. While therefore they turned their attention to cover Charleroi, Mons was left to the fate which had all along been prepared for it. On the 4th of March the place

* Life of James II.

was invested, and, in spite of many attempts to bring relief, all of them made when too late, it fell into the hands of the French.

During the remainder of this campaign, Marlborough conducted himself so as to command the admiration of all ranks both among his friends and his enemies; but as the situations which he filled were necessarily subordinate, it seems needless to swell our present narrative, by recording movements for which he was in no degree responsible.

Early in October, the troops on both sides having retired into quarters, Marlborough departed for England, where, on the 19th, he landed, in full favour with the king and the people. No great while elapsed, however, ere the sun of his political heavens became obscured. He had, on a previous occasion, zealously espoused the cause of the princess Anne, in a dispute which she maintained with the king and queen relative to money transactions; and he now entered, with equal zeal, into fresh cabals, originating in the somewhat ungracious exclusion of prince George from service on board the fleet. It does not exactly appear how far Marlborough expressed himself in disrespectful language of his sovereign; but that some such act of imprudence had been committed, was proved by his abrupt dismissal, on the 10th of January, 1692, from the king's service, and the order conveyed to him not again to show himself at St. James's.

Irritated at the treatment bestowed upon her favourite, the princess withdrew, in a great measure, from all intercourse with the court, and gathered round her as many persons of rank as preferred the countenance of a lady strongly suspected of Jacobitism to the cold civilities of a foreign usurper. The circumstance was not in any respect favourable to Marlborough's prospects; it served but to encourage in their attacks the many enemies whom his superior good fortune had created; and their machinations, aided by other causes, led, before long, to a still more unsatisfactory result.

Lady Marlborough having ventured to appear at the drawing-room, as a personal attendant on the princess, received a peremptory command to quit the palace, whilst her mistress, perceiving in the measure a studied insult to herself, gave up her apartments also, and retired to Berkeley House. All London was in amazement; but if the feeling had been excited before, it rose to a still higher pitch in consequence of an event which almost immediately ensued. On the 8th of May, Lord Marlborough was arrested on a charge of high treason, and, together with the earls of Huntingdon and Scarsdale, and Dr. Pratt, bishop of Rochester, committed to the Tower.

It so happened that at this particular juncture a French fleet filled with troops for the invasion of England had put to sea. As a measure of precaution, the lords Griffin, Middleton, and Dunmore, sir John Fenwick, colonels Slingsby and Sackville, with many other avowed partisans of the exiled family, were seized; and men, naturally connecting one circumstance with another, came to the conclusion that a similar motive had guided the public authorities in the treatment of Marlborough. But it soon appeared that not Marlborough only, but the nobles and prelate committed along with him, stood on ground much more delicate than that occupied by their companions in disgrace. There was one Young, a man of infamous character, who lay in Newgate in default of the payment of a fine, and exercised his ingenuity in forging the handwriting of men of rank and influence. This miscreant, aided by an associate named Stephen Blackhead, found means to draw up a declaration in favour of James II., and to affix to it the signatures of Marlborough, Scarsdale, Dr. Pratt, Lord Cornbury, and sir Basil Firebrass. Having secreted this deed in the bishop's palace at Bromley, Young communicated its existence to the secretary of state; by whose order a search was instituted, and the document found. The arrest of the supposed traitors immediately followed, though the ground of accusation was for a brief space kept secret.

There is good reason to believe that had it been possible to substantiate the charge of treason against the parties now accused, small regret would have been experienced by king William, to whom the friend of the princess Anne, and the most distinguished soldier of his day, had become an object of strong personal antipathy. No sooner, however, was Young confronted with the bishop of Rochester than his forgery became apparent, and all except Marlborough were released. Why he should have been detained after his supposed associates were acquitted, has never been satisfactorily explained, unless the conjecture which refers the circumstance to the naturally suspicious temper of the king be admitted as correct; but of the fact itself there is no doubt. Marlborough remained a prisoner in the Tower till the 15th of June, the last day of the term. He was then admitted to bail in the court of king's bench, the marquess of Halifax, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Cornby, and Mr. Boyle being his sureties; and on the 23d of the same month his name, with the names of the lords who supported him, were struck off from the list of privy counsellors.

From this date up to the close of 1694 Marlborough continued in disgrace, without making any effort to recover the favour of his sovereign. The death of the queen, however, which occurred on the 28th of December, having led to a reconciliation between the king and the princess of Denmark, Marlborough took advantage of the circumstance, and tendered his services in any capacity in which they might be deemed advantageous to his country. Though supported by the influence both of lord Shrewsbury and admiral Russell, this offer was rejected; nor, when all the facts of the matter are taken into consideration, can we experience surprise that the case should have been so. It was very generally understood that Marlborough still kept up a correspondence with the court of St. Germain's. He had been just accused, likewise, of taking part in Fenwick's plot for the assassination of king William,

and though acquitted by the house of peers, suspicion was not obliterated from the naturally suspicious mind of the king. Hence every effort on the part of Marlborough's friends to bring his merits conspicuously before the sovereign were coldly met or peremptorily rejected; nor was it till the exigencies of the times in some degree forced the arrangement upon him, that William would consent to honour the earl with his confidence.

By the act of settlement, the crown, though conferred conjointly upon William and Mary, and secured to either in the event of the demise of one, was destined, failing issue from these parties, to pass to the princess of Denmark. Mary having died childless, the princess Anne was now next in succession; and her son, the duke of Gloucester, a boy of very promising disposition, was treated as heir presumptive to the throne. It became a subject of deep interest to procure for him a guardian, qualified both by natural and acquired talents to form his mind aright; and the favour of the nation, not less than the partiality of the princess mother, pointed out Marlborough as of all others the best fitted for such a trust. Had there been any rival to Marlborough* in public opinion, it is extremely probable that he would have been preferred; but there was none. The tories were now all-powerful; and William, conscious that opposition to their wishes would be fruitless, yielded with a good grace. Associating with Marlborough, as superintendent of the prince's education, bishop Burnet, he committed to the former his important charge, addressing to him a compliment which reflected equal honour upon the one party as upon the other: "My lord," said the king, "make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wish to see him."

Marlborough entered upon his new and important office in June, 1698, having been previously restored to

* William offered the appointment to Shrewsbury, who declined it; and would have bestowed it upon Rochester, but for his dislike of that nobleman's temper and party prejudices.

all his honours, civil as well as military. He discharged its duties during two years, with acknowledged zeal and judgment; but at the end of that time the heir of the British crown died, to the inexpressible grief both of the king and the people. It does not appear that the calamity produced any injurious effect either upon the future prospects or immediate situation of Marlborough. Restored to the full favour of the reigning monarch, and strong in the undisguised partiality of the heir, Marlborough had every right to anticipate a career of honour and prosperity; and the state of Europe was such as to open out to him a field, of all others, the most favourable to his genius and talent. We accordingly find him in the summer of 1701, after marrying his daughters Henrietta and Anne to the sons of two old friends, Godolphin and Sunderland, taking a leading part in transactions, of the circumstances which led to which it will be necessary to give a brief account.

The peace of Ryswick, to which both Louis and William had somewhat reluctantly consented, — the one in consequence of the views which he entertained upon the Spanish crown, the other because of his frequent reverses,—had been pronounced by all intelligent statesmen to rest upon no solid basis. The death of Charles, which took place November 1st, 1700, proved the perfect justice of this suspicion, by overthrowing at once the famous partition treaties, in the management of which William had assumed to himself extraordinary credit. So far from the Spanish sovereignty devolving upon the archduke Charles, it was found that the king had made a new will, by which the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, was nominated to succeed; whilst in event of his demise, or accession to the throne of France, the duke de Berri was appointed to the inheritance. Though the partition treaty had given great umbrage both to the house of commons and the people of England, the prospect of a virtual union between France and Spain was not such as either were disposed to regard with approbation. The very parliament which

had impeached the king's ministers, and seemed at one moment well inclined to dethrone the king himself, suddenly changed their language: they voted liberal supplies to meet any contingencies which the state of the times might bring forth, and conveyed to the throne solemn assurances of support in all such alliances as might be contracted for the double purpose of maintaining the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. It is somewhat remarkable, that Marlborough, who had entered a violent protest against the acquittal of Portland, Oxford, Halifax, and Turner, was one of the most forward members of the house of peers in advocating this line of policy. Whether he was actuated on the present occasion by views of personal ambition, or whether he really looked to the honour of his country, we pretend not to say; but certain it is, that he entered with extraordinary readiness into the king's wishes, which by his powerful influence he tended largely to promote. The consequence was, that William forgave, or affected to forgive, the vigorous opposition which he had met when striving to keep up his Dutch guards, and to resume the Irish grants; and taking Marlborough completely into favour, appointed him to command the forces in the Netherlands, and to negotiate the renewal of a grand alliance with the foreign powers. All this, it will be observed, took place subsequently to the arrangement of the succession by the exclusion of the direct line in favour of the house of Hanover; an important measure, to which Anne was induced to give her consent, chiefly through the persuasions of lady Marlborough.

On the 1st of July, 1701, Marlborough embarked with the king at Margate, and on the 3d landed at the Hague. He was employed throughout the whole cf the summer in conducting negotiations, to which prejudices the most extravagant, sometimes the most discordant, stood every where opposed. Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and Muscovy, not less than England and the states-general, were all to be conciliated;

and as the political views of these several powers were, generally speaking, in direct contradiction one to the other, the extreme delicacy of management requisite to unite them may be imagined. On the one hand the diplomatist was called upon to soothe and flatter the pride of the emperor; on the other, the vanity of the Swedish monarch, not less than the rapacity of his council, was to be gratified. With Prussia, again, he found himself involved in a labyrinth of subsidies, supplies, and acknowledgments, and the payment of an army scarcely to be trusted. Holland and England were, of course, mutually jealous of commercial advantages and maritime rights; while Denmark, smarting under the effects of her recent struggle with Sweden, seemed by no means willing to become a party to any arrangement in which her rival was included. Over all these difficulties, however, as well as over the caution of Muscovy, Marlborough, by discretion and coolness, eventually triumphed; and though the summer was wasted in discussions, the conduct of which enabled Louis to assume a very formidable attitude, the result was far more favourable than the most sanguine could have anticipated. It was arranged, that war should be declared against France; that the three great powers, Germany, England, and Holland, should carry on that war to the utmost extent of their disposable means; and that an army should forthwith be assembled, the contracting parties furnishing contingents, Germany to the amount of 90,000, England of 40,000, and Holland of 10,000 men.

While these things were in progress on one side, the death of James II., and the acknowledgment by Louis of his son as king of England, furnished ample proof that the opposite parties were not unprepared for the issue. The effect of this measure in London was not, however, such as the French monarch would have desired. Party spirit, which had previously run high, subsided as it were in a moment: an address of loyalty and devotion was voted to the king by both houses of parlia-

ment; and he was petitioned to insert a clause in the treaty of alliance, by which the great powers should engage themselves not to make peace till the title of William to the British crown had been admitted. At the same time orders were issued for the capture of the Spanish galleons, expected at the customary season with treasure; and a partial change of ministry being effected, the hands of William, and his great supporters the whigs, were materially strengthened. It was now that an act of attainder was passed against the prince of Wales and his mother, which was followed by an act for the security of his majesty's person, and the succession to the crown in the protestant line. Next followed the bill of abjuration with all its mis-statements and absurdities; and the system, which it had required so many years to organise, became fully consolidated. The affixing of his signature to this bill, not by manuscript but by stamp, was the last act of royalty which William performed. He had returned to England late in September, whither, on the conclusion of the treaty, he was followed by Marlborough, and received a fatal injury by the falling of his horse, when hunting in the park of Hampton Court. He survived the accident only long enough to confirm the measure which his parliament had adopted; and, on the 8th of March, 1702, expired, in the 52d year of his age, and 14th of his reign.

It is stated by Lediard, that William with his dying breath recommended Marlborough to the notice of his successor, as the fittest person in her dominions "to head her armies and direct her counsels." How far this account is to be received as accurate, we take it not upon us to say; but it is certain that Marlborough was almost immediately invested with the order of the bath, and promoted to the rank of captain-general of her majesty's forces. The office of ranger of Windsor Park was at the same time bestowed upon the countess; his two daughters were advanced to the dignity of ladies of the bedchamber; and a pension of 2000*l.* a year, granted by the late king, was, without solicitation, continued to

Lord Sunderland. A ministry, likewise, was formed, which, including almost every personal friend of Marlborough, could not but consider itself bound to support him in all his undertakings; while, to sum up all, he was deputed to Holland as ambassador extraordinary, for the purpose of assuring the allied powers that to the treaties entered into by the deceased monarch his successor would rigidly adhere. Yet, it was not without considerable exertion of influence, that he succeeded in obtaining a prompt declaration of war. Even in the privy-council, he was from time to time rigorously opposed; and the opposition led to a breach, deeply lamented, in the friendship which had so long subsisted between Marlborough and Rochester. Nevertheless, the eventful step was finally taken; war was formally declared; and Marlborough, on the 15th of May, 1702, set sail from Margate, to assume the command of the British contingent, and of such forces as might by other states be intrusted to his guidance.

It had been early attempted by Marlborough to obtain for the prince of Denmark the chief command of the troops about to be employed in the approaching contest. He had laboured to accomplish this object while ambassador at the Hague; and now, on his return thither in the capacity of commander of the British forces, he renewed the subject. But the inexperience of the prince, united to other and not less cogent reasons, induced the allies to lend to the proposition a deaf ear. After taking into consideration the respective claims of the prince of Nassau-Saarbruck, and the earl of Athlone, — the former a prince of the empire, the latter a native of Holland, and a general of long standing and some reputation, — it was finally determined that the important office should be intrusted to Marlborough himself. He was accordingly invested with the dignity and nominal powers of generalissimo of the allied forces, and a yearly salary of 10,000*l.* was granted to defray the expenses incident to the situation.

It was the beginning of June ere Marlborough landed

at the Hague, and hostilities had actually commenced six weeks previously. For this, indeed, ample preparations had been made in the course of the winter, by the drawing together of various corps, at every point where danger seemed to threaten; nor were these backward in coming into play, as soon as the state of the weather would permit. On the side of the allies, one army consisting exclusively of Germans occupied, under prince Lewis of Baden, a position on the Upper Rhine; a second, composed of Prussians, Palatines, Dutch, and some English, made ready, under the orders of the prince of Saarbruck, to invest Kayserwerth; a third, commanded by Athlone, after reinforcing the garrison of Maestricht, took post at Cranenberg, not far from Cleves; while a fourth corps of 10,000 men collected at the mouth of the Scheldt, under Cohorn the celebrated engineer, for the double purpose of securing that frontier and threatening the district of Bruges. On the part of the enemy, again, preparations neither less judicious nor less gigantic were made. One army, at the head of which were the count de la Motte and the marquis of Bedmar, covered the western frontier of the Netherlands, and opposed itself to Cohorn. A second, not inferior in point of strength, and of which the command was held by marshal Tallard, made ready, from the Upper Rhine, to interrupt the siege of Kayserwerth; while it was from the operations of a third, at once the most numerous and the best equipped, that both parties anticipated the principal results. Occupying the line of the Meuse, and holding all the fortresses in the bishopric of Liege, that corps seemed to possess both an excellent base on which to lean, and every facility of acting; and the command being intrusted to Marshal Boufflers, an officer noted for his hardihood and valour, the most extravagant expectations were formed as to the conquests which it would immediately achieve.

The first blow in this memorable war was struck by the prince of Saarbruck, at the suggestion, as the French historian asserts, of Marlborough. On the 15th of April

he invested Kayserwerth, and on the 18th his batteries opened; but the place having been recently supplied both with men and ample stores, it offered a determined resistance. To facilitate this operation, Cohorn made an irruption into Flanders, demolished the bridge between Donat and Isabella, and levied on the châtelain of Bruges heavy contributions. This occurrence immediately drew towards him the corps of La Motte and Bedmar, in order to avoid which he retired again under the walls of Sluys, though not till he had broken down the banks of the canals, and laid the vicinity of Donat under water. Meanwhile Boufflers, being nominally superseded by the young duke of Burgundy, and reinforced by the junction of Tallard's corps, entered vigorously into the business of the contest. Leaving a considerable detachment to mask Maestricht, he pushed upon Nimeguen, not far from which Athlone lay encamped; and so well were his measures laid, that this important city, the very gate of Holland on its eastern flank, had well nigh fallen into his hands. It is said by the French historian, that Boufflers' conversation was at all times unguarded; and that, by speaking too openly of what he designed to effect, he apprised the allies of the danger. How far this statement may or may not be correct, we are not called upon to determine; but it is certain that nothing short of extraordinary exertions on the part of Athlone could have preserved Nimeguen from capture. He learned at eight o'clock in the evening that Boufflers was in motion, and that the enemy were already a full march nearer to the place than himself; yet he broke up within the hour, and by a toilsome and rapid night's march, contrived to anticipate them on the heights which overlook the town. Here some smart skirmishing took place, the cavalry on both sides performing prodigies of valour; but no gallantry on the part of the French could compensate for an opportunity thrown away. They forced back the burgher outposts, it is true; they even arrived within gun-shot of the glacis; but they could not hinder Athlone from throwing twenty battalions into the

town. Boufflers was in no condition to hazard an assault, far less to try the fortune of a siege; so he fell back, chagrined and mortified, to a position on the right of the Meuse, between Goch and Guiep.

In this condition affairs stood, some of the movements detailed having actually taken place, while others were yet in progress, when Marlborough arrived to assume the command which had been intrusted to him. His first efforts were directed to allay the apprehensions with which the recent attempt upon Nimeguen had affected the Dutch authorities; his next, to push to the front every disposable man, and to direct that an encampment should be formed along the Waal, between Nimeguen and Fort Schenk. While these operations went on, he applied all his energies to tighten the bond which held the allies somewhat loosely together, as well as to a mature consideration, in the council of state, of such plans of campaign as were proposed. Of these there were three in particular which demanded careful consideration. First, it was suggested that a general action should be brought on by attacking the enemy in their lines; secondly, that the works of Nimeguen should be enlarged and strengthened, and that the army, leaving a sufficient garrison to maintain them, should move up the Rhine, reduce Rhinberg, and cut off the enemy's communications; and thirdly, that a corps of observation be posted at Nimeguen, while the main body passing the Meuse, should endeavour to draw Boufflers after it, and transfer the scene of war to the Spanish Netherlands. We are assured by Dr. Cox, that the last of these schemes originated with Marlborough himself; and the many striking advantages which it promised to secure, seems to confirm this opinion. Nevertheless it does not appear that any definite arrangements were made, or any resolutions for acting upon them drawn up. On the contrary, having spent an entire month in endeavouring to clear away preliminary obstacles, Marlborough found himself under the necessity of repairing to head-quarters with a sort of

vague authority to act in all respects by the advice of certain field-deputies, as should appear most conducive to the advancement of the common cause.

Marlborough reached the camp on the 1st of July, where on the following morning he passed his army under review. Kayerswerth having fallen on the 15th of June, he had already ordered in 8000 of the troops employed there, as well as a considerable draft from the English garrison at Breda; and he now found that the statements of his staff presented a return of 60,000 men of all arms, with a train of sixty-eight guns, eight mortars, a few howitzers, and twenty-four pontoons. He proposed immediately to take the field; but he was soon made to feel, that the nominal generalissimo of a combined army holds a widely different station from that occupied by the leader of a force strictly national. In the council of war which he deemed it delicate to summon, though he could not draw from the Dutch officers any decisive opinions of their own, he found them all prompt to dispute the soundness of his calculations. They disapproved of every movement, either because it was too hazardous, or that it was not sufficiently daring; and they finally declared that they could consent to nothing, unless the plan should, first of all, receive the sanction of the states-general. A messenger was in consequence despatched to the Hague, who returned in due time, with the powers of which Marlborough stood in need; yet were his difficulties far from being overcome. He hinted at the possible necessity of a movement across the Meuse, when, to his horror, he discovered that the Hanoverians could not march without explicit directions from monsieur Bothmar, and that the Prussians were likewise restricted to a particular line of operations. With great temper Marlborough abstained from all reproaches, but sent instantly for Bothmar. He came; and, yielding to the circumstances, gave up the Hanoverians to the will of the English general; while the king of Prussia was in like manner soothed by farther concessions to his vanity.

In this unsatisfactory manner a full fortnight was

wasted; the general being daily assured that the states would consent to no plan which had not for its first object the protection of Nimeguen and the Rhine. A stop was thus put to the proposed invasion of the Spanish Netherlands; and as there now remained only a choice between risking a great battle at a disadvantage, and acting upon the enemy's communications, Marlborough wisely preferred the latter course. With this view he passed the Waal, and, encamping on the 16th, about two leagues from Boufflers' position, closely reconnoitred it. Meanwhile he had ordered three bridges to be constructed on the Meuse, not far from Grave, and by the 26th the whole of his army, with its train of carriages and artillery, was encamped on the opposite bank, between Udan and Zealand. On the 27th, the columns were again in motion, establishing their right near Nunen, and their left at Leyshout; the 28th, after carrying a fortified house, they took post between Geldorp and Mierle, and by noon on the 30th, they were in a condition to mark out their ground not far from the town of Hamont.

When he reconnoitred Boufflers' lines, between Goch and Guiep, Marlborough was accompanied by the field-deputies, to whom he exultingly said, "I will soon deliver you from these troublesome neighbours." It was neither a vain nor an idle boast; for Boufflers no sooner became aware that the Meuse was crossed, than, apprehensive for his own base, he broke up from his entrenched camp, and made haste to follow. He, too, crossed the river at Venloo and Ruremond, and pressing onwards, with rapid strides, reached Brey, almost at the same moment when Marlborough fixed his head quarters at Geldorp. And now began a series of movements, which to detail at length would occupy no inconsiderable portion of time, without conveying much either of amusement or instruction to the general reader. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with noticing, that during many days the hostile armies were continually in motion; that while Marlborough endeavoured to in-

terpose himself between Boufflers and the fortresses on the Meuse, the latter used every exertion to hinder the accomplishment of that design; and that the English commander, outreaching his adversary on all points, compelled him to avoid a disastrous battle by giving up his communications with the places threatened, and falling back upon Beringhen. Had his battering train, with the stores necessary for a war of sieges, been at hand, Marlborough might have invested both Venloo and Ruremond early in August; but these were, unfortunately, far in the rear, and it needed all his diligence, with some share of good fortune, to ensure their arrival at head-quarters at all.

The enemy made their retrograde movement on the 5th of August; the same day the allies took post in rear of Peer, having their right on the Dommel and their left at Erlicum. Here considerable reinforcements joined them, some battalions directly from England, others from the garrison of Maestricht; while from the same point Marlborough employed himself in destroying the fortifications at Peer and Bray, both of which stood in the way of his communications. He had effected this, and was on the eve of passing the Dommel, when Boufflers, to whom the march of a convoy from Bois-le-Duc had been communicated, broke up suddenly from Beringhen, and assumed an attitude of offence. Detaching marshal Berwick to Eyndhoven, for the purpose of intercepting the stores, he himself marched by Moll and Bergueick to Rythoven, from whence he made demonstrations as if he would endeavour to break in upon Marlborough's rear, or turn him by the right. Marlborough fell back instantly to Everbeek, a castle about two English miles north of Hamont, and at the same time directed count Tilly to move along the north road, so as to cover the approach of the stores. But he was not content with measures of mere precaution. Though justly uneasy in consequence of the dispositions of the enemy, he made two large drafts from his army; one corps he instructed to attack Weert, while the other watched the

garrison of Venloo; and he opened at the same time a direct communication with Maestricht, by means of which a supply of bread was regularly received in camp. Marlborough owed, under these circumstances, a good deal to the respect in which his opponents held him. The convoy passed, in the most careless and unguarded manner, within sight of Berwick's corps; yet such was the disinclination of the marshal to bring on a general action, that he would not permit it to be molested.

Having thus cleared the way to ulterior operations, Marlborough again took the lead; and pushing upon Diest, manœuvred for the double purpose of intercepting the enemy's supplies, and drawing them altogether from the district of Bois-le-Duc. On the 22d he was at Great Bruegel, and next day pitched his camp between Helchteren and Honthalen. He had scarcely done so when the enemy were descried moving, in manifest disorder, along a line of road hemmed in on all sides by swamps and morasses. Marlborough commanded the generals to get the divisions instantly under arms, while, with a select corps of cavalry, he rode forward to reconnoitre; but though his orders were promptly and cheerfully obeyed, no result of importance followed. The field deputies were averse to fight: they assigned no reasons for their opinion, but declared peremptorily they could not sanction a battle; and as Marlborough had not yet accustomed himself to act first, and consult afterwards, he was compelled to surrender his own judgment to theirs. The two armies faced one another some hours; they exchanged cannon shot at half range, but the French escaped with a trifling loss to their rear-guard, in consequence of a rapid charge executed upon them by a brigade of English cavalry.

Nothing could exceed the chagrin of the general, except the indignation of his troops, on this occasion. There was indeed but one feeling throughout all ranks; nevertheless such was the temper of this great man's mind, that he took no advantage of it to indulge even in complaint, far less in reproach. He satisfied

himself with calmly pointing out how much had been lost by the indecision of his timid counsellors, and then, with the most perfect good humour, made the necessary preparations for the reduction of the fortresses. For this purpose he divided his army into two corps, to one of which, under the command of Cohorn, the care of conducting the sieges was intrusted, while with the other he himself took post in a position well adapted for his purpose between Sutendal and Lonaken. Nor was the slightest attempt made by the French commanders to molest him in these arrangements. The duke of Burgundy, indeed, unwilling to behold the result of his own errors, resigned his command, and had already retired to court; while Boufflers was as yet too weak, and too much under the influence of chagrin, to hazard any blow on an uncertainty. The consequence was, that to the opening of the navigation of the Meuse no other obstacles were presented beyond those which originated in the strength of the fortresses, and the capricious humour of Cohorn; and over both, though the latter proved scarcely less serious than the former, the good fortune of Marlborough prevailed.

It was on the 7th of June, after a vexatious and harassing delay of more than a week, that the attacks upon Venloo were opened from both sides of the river. On the 18th, fort Michael, connected with the place by a bridge of boats, fell; and on the 23d the town itself surrendered on capitulation. No time was lost in transporting the train to Stevenswaert and Ruremond, both of which were immediately invested; and so vigorously were the approaches pushed that they were both in possession of the allies, the former on the 5th, the latter on the 7th of October. There seemed now but one place of strength capable of affecting this line, namely, Liege,—a town important in itself, and doubly so as commanding the course of the Meuse at its junction with the Ourte. Towards it Marlborough determined to make a movement in person, because the position which he had hitherto occupied offered no facilities for

covering the operations of a siege from the attacks of an army which lay in and around Diest.

The fall of Venloo and Ruremond, though not witnessed with indifference, had been regarded by Boufflers as inevitable; he had not therefore harassed his troops by any useless efforts to prevent it. The case was different with respect to Liege, of which the situation was exceedingly convenient, as well for affording winter quarters, as for the protection of Brabant; and hence, after closely inspecting the citadel, and ordering numerous repairs, he made ready to assume a position with his whole army under its walls. But Boufflers, though brave, and even rash, loved to talk of great movements a long while ere he adventured upon them, whereas of Marlborough's designs the first public intimation given came generally by a rumour of their accomplishment. On the present occasion, for example, the hostile armies advanced, the one to cover, the other to blockade the place; and the blockading force, in spite of all the advantages as to time and opportunity possessed by the enemy, arrived first upon its ground. Boufflers saw the allies; he even stood for a moment within cannon shot of them; but he would hazard no attempt to impede them. He retreated with precipitation into the Spanish Netherlands, leaving Liege to its fate. Nor was that long a matter of doubt. The gates of the town being opened by treachery, the citadel was immediately invested; and so early as the 29th of October the mighty circle of works which encompass the place were all in possession of the English.

With the fall of Liege ended this remarkable campaign, throughout the whole of which the English general was called upon to struggle not only against an active enemy, but against the perverseness and obstinacy of those with whom he acted. At its commencement, he found the French holding at all points the initiative; the allies hardly persuading themselves that they were safe behind the most formidable entrenchments, or under the guns of the strongest places. As if by magic, he gave a

totally new aspect to the state of affairs, and took the lead throughout the remainder of the season. Though baffled at the outset, and thwarted in his favourite plan; though repeatedly checked when about to force the enemy to battle, he continued still to hold the superiority in every movement; out-marching an active adversary, repeatedly turning his positions, and deranging every scheme which he seemed to have devised. By a series of masterly movements Boufflers was drawn so completely from the Meuse, that the base from which he had designed to act was taken away, and the fortresses on which he had counted so much, both for defence and annoyance, fell one by one into the hands of his opponent. Great, indeed, were the benefits that resulted to the cause of the league. Independently of the confidence universally excited by a display of generalship so extraordinary, the deliverance of the Dutch frontier from insult was of itself an object of the first importance, while the command of the Meuse, by facilitating the transport of supplies, gave to them all the superiority which the enemy had lost.

Marlborough kept his army together a few days, till he had perfectly ascertained that the French were withdrawn beyond the Mehaigne; he then ordered them into cantonments, partly at Liege, partly in the towns and villages near, and partly at Maestricht. From the latter of these places, on the 3d of November, he himself set out on his return to England; and conceiving that the passage by water would be both more expeditious and less fatiguing than a land journey, he gladly availed himself of it. With this view he embarked, together with the field deputies, on board of an open boat, and began, under a slender escort of twenty-five men, to descend the river. Next day, however, Cohorn joined him, in a larger barge guarded by sixty soldiers, while fifty cavalry, scouring the banks, appeared to obviate all risk of molestation from any enemy. But the little squadron had not sailed many hours in company when the vessels composing it were again separated, and the dragoons,

either through negligence or misapprehension, missed their way in the dark. The town of Guelders was at this time occupied by a French garrison, from which bands of marauders were in the frequent habit of scouring the country. It chanced that these plunderers being abroad that night, perceived, though themselves unseen, the boat which conveyed Marlborough; and seizing the tow line, after they had secured the guides, drew it quietly to shore. A volley of musketry, with a shower of grenades, awoke the sleeping guards; one or two were killed, and a few wounded, and the remainder being panic-struck offered no resistance, while the plunderers leaped on board, and made prisoners of all whom they found. It was now that the fidelity of an attendant, and his own unconquerable presence of mind, saved the hero of twenty fields from becoming the prize of a handful of stragglers. This man, by name Stephen Gell, happening to have in his pocket an old passport, granted many months previously to general Churchill, put it quietly into the hands of Marlborough, and the latter, with the utmost promptitude, showed it as his own. The night was dark; the French, more intent upon plunder than prisoners, took no pains to examine the document, but, after robbing its supposed subject of his money, permitted him to pass, and the deputies being likewise provided with protections, the boat was allowed to proceed. But the rumour that Marlborough had fallen into the enemy's hands reached the Hague before him; and hence his appearance there was greeted by all classes with an enthusiasm of delight such as the phlegmatic Dutch are not every day accustomed to exhibit.

Having rested at the Hague the space of two days only, Marlborough took shipping for England, where his reception, both by the queen and the people, proved in the highest degree gratifying to his feelings. From the former he received the honour of a dukedom, with an offer—which he chose for the present to decline—of a pension to the amount of 5000 pounds a year, out of

the revenues of the post office; by the latter he was every where greeted with the most rapturous and extravagant applause. Both houses of parliament voted him their thanks; they accompanied him in solemn procession to St. Paul's; and they marked their approbation of his conduct by acceding, after a warm debate, to his demand of additional means, both in men and money, for the prosecution of the next campaign.

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